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Europe opts for the lowest common denominator

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The lowest common denominator is what counts in the European Community and was, as usual, as far as Foreign Ministers were prepared to go in fighting Libyan state terrorism.

Rather than ask what they might or ought to do, they preferred to consider what measures they could agree on. As usual, it wasn't very much.

The Mediterranean countries didn't want to provoke the Arabs. Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher wanted to stay on talking terms with everyone. The French favour a tough response on the quiet but prefer to leave the dirty work to the Americans.

Britain is very much out on a limb at the moment even though tougher sanctions against Libya as advocated by Sir Geoffrey Howe might have made America's military strike unnecessary.

So the meagre list of measures undertaken came as less of a disappointment than European disunity and failure to convey even an impression of knowing what was at stake: a determined stand against terrorism and for the maintenance of the Western alliance.

Terrorism is a threat to Western liberal democracy in seeking to sow the seeds of fear and political appeasement.

It is also a threat when disagreement over suitable counter-measures leads to distrust among the allies on their aims and objectives.

"The citizen of Europe," wrote Raymond Aron during the Yom Kippur War, "to do what he often tends to do and take his seat in the stalls and watch the action as though it were nothing to do with him and he had no means of influencing its further course."

These words are as appropriate today as they were 13 years ago. What goes on around the Mediterranean directly affects European interests. East and West meet, with Islamic, Marxist and democratic ideas jockeying for influence.

The dispute is made even more serious by the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Clashes in the Eastern Mediterranean have long ceased to be simply a matter of oil and we cannot afford to be indifferent to their outcome.

Europe is deceiving itself by imagining it no longer has any influence in the region merely because it has forfeited positions of old.

The course of events is influenced by what we fail to do, Aron felt, and how right he was!

The relative inactivity of the Europeans, made out to be readiness for dialogue and endeavour for peace in the Middle East, has singly failed to spare Europe involvement in terrorist activities originating in Middle Eastern Islamic and Marxist extremism.

The terrorists and their backers have not given up their bid to demoralise and weaken the Western world – and with it the moderate Arab states that are the immediate target.

Just Palestinian demands serve as the justification for criminal activity in the hope that Western public opinion will allow itself to at least partly be deceived as to the nature of terrorism.

It is more than naive to believe that the viper's brood of terrorism might be starved into submission by peace between the Arabs and Israel. Any such peace settlement could only be a compromise reached in the face of extremist opposition.

Terrorists would be sure to try to torpedo a peace settlement with bombs just as they are now trying to bomb peace moves to a standstill.

So there is no reason why direct and effective moves against centres of terrorism should be postponed, and Americans and Europeans are not disagreed on the need for action.

Where they have difficulty is in reaching agreement on how to go about it. Some may fondly believe there is little free and open societies can do to protect themselves from terrorism, but in reality there is an entire range of options, especially against terrorist states.

First, their diplomatic missions can be either closed or subjected to restrictions, and in Libya's case there is ample proof that its "people's bureaus" serve terrorists as an operational base under cover of diplomatic immunity.

If this were not the case the European Community's Foreign Ministers could hardly have been in a position to act in this respect.

But are moves against Libyan diplomatic missions enough. Ought economic sanctions not also to have been considered?

With a glut of oil at rock bottom prices on the market an oil boycott would be an effective sanction against Colonel Gaddafi, or so Helmut Schmidt feels.

It would be no justification after the event of the US bombardment of Tripoli and Benghazi. Indeed, it could serve to make the point that although the use of

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Italian President in Bonn

The Italian head of state, Francesco Cossiga, here seen in conversation with German Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker, paid Bonn a state visit of which cordiality was the keynote. (Photo: dpa)

Bonn expels 22 Libyan diplomats, trims its own staff in Tripoli

The Federal government has expelled 22 Libyan diplomats at the "people's bureau" in Bonn. The Libyan authorities were served immediate notice of this national move within the framework of the latest European Community resolutions against international terrorism.

At the same time Bavarian Premier and CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss voiced further criticism of German and European policy in connection with the US military strike against Libya.

The Interior Ministry and the Foreign Office agreed on a list of Libyans declared persona non grata and told the leave the country immediately.

The 22 Libyan diplomats expelled reduce manpower at the Bonn "people's bureau" from 41 to 19. At the same time staff at the German embassy in Tripoli were reduced from 22 to 19.

Chief government spokesman Friedhelm Ost says Bonn is also considering whether the staff of other Libyan agencies, such as travel and trade organisations, also needs thinning out.

The freedom of movement of Libyan diplomats in Bonn has been restricted. The Foreign Office must be notified before they travel outside the city limits.

No restrictions are to be imposed on the freedom of movement of ordinary Libyan nationals ordinarily resident in the Federal Republic. Their number is estimated at about 1,200.

In its review of the security situation the Federal Cabinet worked on the assumption that Libya would for the time being scale down its activities and possibly send in other groups to lead the terrorist fray.

The aim was to nip any such trend in the bud. Through roads may now be blocked in mainly American residential areas in German cities and towns.

US servicemen and their dependents are also to be entitled to German number-plates for their private cars.

In the CSU weekly newspaper *Bayernkurier* Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss has again criticised Western Europe for failing to lend the United States adequate support before and during the US air strike against Libya.

For months the Europeans had failed to act jointly. Their inactivity and failure had forced the Americans to act.

Washington had been obliged to intervene in the way it did because the Europeans had failed as reliable allies.

Neither Herr Ost nor the Foreign Office spokesman were prepared to comment on the Bavarian leader's criticism.

Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann said the arrest of a Palestinian suspect in connection with the bomb raid on the Berlin discotheque La Belle was an initial success.

Heinz-Joachim Melder
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 24 April 1986)

IN THIS ISSUE



■ EUROPE

Eurocommunism — the historic compromise

Ten years ago the Eurocommunists equally worried both superpowers. The United States felt they were a threat to Nato from within. The Soviet Union saw them as a threat to the unity of the international communist movement by which it set such great store.

Eurocommunists were Marxist parties in Western European democracies that began, in the mid-1970s, to scrap their revolutionary jargon and later jettisoned Marxist-Leninist dogma too.

The Italian Communists went furthest. Their leader, Enrico Berlinguer, changed his mind after the military coup in Chile.

He no longer felt a narrow majority for the united Left at the polls, as in Chile, was desirable. He sought a rapprochement with the other leading political force in Italy, the Catholic Christian Democrats.

This realignment came to be known as the "historic compromise" and the Italian Communist experiment fell on fertile ground in Spain, where the colourful old Communist leader Santiago Carrillo followed suit.

The French Communist leaders also allowed Leninist concepts such as the dictatorship of the proletariat to be written out of the Party manifesto, although they did so halfheartedly rather than with a sense of inner conviction.

The Eurocommunists rightly caused a stir at, say, the conference of European Communist and Labour parties held in East Berlin in June 1976.

Backed by the Yugoslav and Rumanian leaders, who were still shaken by Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Eurocommunist summit forced Mr Brezhnev to make major concessions. He was obliged to concede a party's (or a country's) right to its own road to Socialism.

He also solemnly affirmed that the principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs applied to relations between parties as well as states.

The East Berlin conference was basically a concentrated attack on the Brezhnev doctrine of the limited sovereignty of socialist countries.

Ten years ago the Eurocommunists were a phenomenon that preoccupied sociologists and politicians. Nowadays they are a subject heading in encyclopaedias but no longer matter.

Do they still exist or have they vanished as suddenly as they appeared? Closer scrutiny reveals that after the split among Spanish Communists, after the electoral debacle and the latest ideological incrustation of the French Communists and after the Italian Communists' commitment to reformism, previously decried as Social Democratic, at their Florence party conference nothing is left of the Eurocommunist movement.

Developments have superseded it. National particularities have proved stronger than ideological links. It looks as though the Eurocommunists fulfilled their historic mission in East Berlin 10 years ago.

The decline began a year later when French Communist leader Georges Marchais took up a hint from the Kremlin and sought a pretext under which to quit the coalition with M. Mitterrand's Socialists.

One can understand Mr Brezhnev not wanting to jeopardise President Giscard d'Estaing's position. If the Left had won the 1978 French general election he would not have been able to continue his detente policy with M. Mitterrand as Prime Minister.

What M. Marchais expected to gain by scrapping the Union of the Left is his secret. Under pressure from the party rank and file he was forced in 1981 to change course yet again in the Presidential elections and endorse M. Mitterrand's candidature for the Presidency.

The Communists had pursued such an erratic policy line that they then polled only 16 per cent.

In 1984 the Communists resigned from the coalition cabinet and sullenly accused M. Mitterrand of betraying their joint policy programme.

This further change of course didn't pay dividends either. In last month's French general election the Communists polled only 9.8 per cent. In their post-war heyday they polled 28 per cent.

Blaming the Socialists as M. Marchais has done is not the explanation. The French Communist leaders have underestimated the importance as a power factor of the intellectuals they despise.

They ignored the debate on totalitarianism triggered in France by the publication of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag and disregarded the "new philosophers" who irreverently proclaimed that Marx was dead.

Instead of allowing the Party to take part in the dispute M. Marchais ordered discipline and dug in behind rigid ideological positions, forfeiting the support of reformers such as Jean Elleinstein and well-known sympathisers in the arts.

The Spanish Communists, like the French, were their own undoing. After Franco's death Señor Carrillo proclaimed a strict Eurocommunist line.

In the transitional post-Franco phase, in which the military played a leading role, a staunchly pro-Moscow Communist Party like Portugal's would probably not have been tolerated.

Yet Señor Carrillo, who was outwardly Eurocommunist yet ruled the Spanish

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Communist Party with Stalinist austerity, was unable to prevent voters and members deserting the Party in droves.

In the 1982 general election the Communists polled only 3.8 per cent and lost 18 of their 23 seats in the Cortes.

So there is little likelihood of Eurocommunist moves from Madrid at present.

The Italian Communists have in contrast left the Eurocommunist position behind them, abandoning dreams of a Third Way between East Bloc Socialism and Western Social Democracy.

The Italian Communists are fast approaching viewpoints that can be characterised as Social Democratic. The Party congress in Florence testified to a pluralism of views within the CPI that would be inconceivable in, say, Germany's DKP.

The Italian Communists see themselves in the European intellectual tradition of democracy and human rights. They acknowledge the advantages of the free market economy.

They have also accepted Nato and the Western alliance and worked constructively in the European Parliament for years.

This can no longer be described as Eurocommunism in the classical sense.

President Luchini of the Italian Employers' Federation readily agreed to be interviewed by the Communist daily, *L'Unità*, and advised the Communist Party leaders to set up a Shadow Cabinet along British Labour Party lines.

Industry would deal differently with a revolutionary party of whose radical policies it was afraid.

Wolfgang Schmieg

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 19 April 1986)

Big Brother in Moscow and blue-eyed boy East Berlin



A constant and popular question at diplomatic parties in East Berlin is how much foreign policy leeway East Germany has and how far it can afford to depart from the Soviet model.

Yet none of those who daily monitor GDR affairs and in some cases have done so for years would risk a straight answer. It depends.

Views daily exchanged by the GDR Foreign Ministry on Marx-Engels-Platz and the Soviet embassy on Unter den Linden and by the SED central office on Werderscher Markt and CPSU headquarters in the Kremlin are strictly confidential.

No-one except those immediately concerned knows for sure how Moscow and East Berlin get on, so diplomats in the GDR capital have to rely on assumptions and surmises.

It is worth noting that the Soviet Union has always been represented in East Berlin by an ambassador who as a full member of the CPSU central committee was both a diplomatic emissary of the Soviet state and a representative of the Party.

Ruling Leninists set great store by such formalities and considerations of rank.

Pyotr Abrassimov and Mikhail Efremov were central committee members like their predecessors, and Vyacheslav Kochemazov was promoted from candidate to full member of the central committee on moving into the massive Soviet embassy building on Unter den Linden.

Since the 27th CPSU congress there have been only 300-odd members of the central committee, so it is far too small to include more than a handful of Soviet diplomats in its number.

But Moscow's man in East Berlin is still a central committee member.

What use he makes of the distinction and whether he, like his predecessors, occasionally attends meetings of the SED politbureau remains to be seen.

In a major crisis that could speed up the procedure of reciprocal information and joint decision. Ambassador Kochemazov is, by and large, more circumspect and reserved than his predecessor, Mr Abrassimov.

Even SED politicians are known on occasion to have complained, off the record, that Mr Abrassimov behaved like the "ambassador of the Tsar."

The CPSU reaffirmed in a resolution at its 27th Party congress that the variety of the Communist movement must not be taken as a synonym for fragmentation.

"Unity has just as little to do with uniformity and hierarchy just as little to do with intervention by one party in the affairs of another, with the claim of any one party to a monopoly of truth."

The SED welcomed this resolution. It is a definition it can live with without constantly having to heed considerations of domestic and social policy in the Soviet Union.

Moscow would have its work cut out if it were to insist on being consulted every time the GDR leaders reprimanded a rebellious writer or East Berlin planning commission economists recommended changes in the system of planning and control.

With its New Economic System (NÖSPL) the GDR first experimented and modelled for other socialist states. In his later years Walter Ulbricht was extremely proud of it — and said so, much to the Kremlin's displeasure.

Since 1971 Erich Honecker, his successor, has taken pains not to irritate the Soviet Union by emphasising special features of the GDR economy — even though comparison of Soviet and GDR society reveals major differences.

The Soviet Union, like the Western Allies, has never relinquished its rights in either Berlin or for "Germany as a whole" by virtue of having defeated Germany in the Second World War.

Not for nothing does the Soviet Union set great store by calling its troops in the GDR the "Soviet Forces in Germany."

Where West Berlin is concerned Moscow is keen to retain a say on minor, seemingly insignificant points. This probably accounts for a number of anomalies.

They include the hesitant and far from consistent attitude of the GDR toward Third World applicants for political asylum sent to West Berlin.

Then there is the exclusion of West Berliners from the intra-German youth exchange scheme.

By the same token, improvements in local border traffic between the GDR and the Federal Republic have not been extended to include corresponding improvements for West Berliners.

Asked how far his leeway went, Erich Honecker bluntly told the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* at the end of January that it was unlimited.

But no-one knows better than he does that the Soviet Union must, to use a formula originally coined in connection with West Berlin, be respected as the "supreme authority" where the "security and status of the GDR are concerned."

Manfred Rexin

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 20 April 1986)

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force might be justified in self-defence in an extreme emergency, in this case and in this form it wasn't.

What is more, President Reagan's threat to strike again if the need arose could have the rug pulled from under it by a demonstration of solidarity and action.

But it is probably wishful thinking to expect agreement to be reached over the above embarrassed support for the United States on the UN Security Council. We will have to go on living — and dying — with terrorism.

This is scant consolation for the victims, coincidental targets in a dispute with which they have nothing to do.

No less coincidentally they bear the brunt of a European outlook that stops short at sacrifices of Europe's own that might upset peace and quiet, business as usual and the [illegible] from the [illegible].

Dieter Schröder

([illegible] Zeitung, Munich, 23 April 1986)

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■ BONN

Pragmatism, not moral change, has been Kohl's keynote

During the 1983 general election campaign the CDU promised voters it would pursue a policy of intellectual and moral renewal.

Helmut Kohl presumably already knew then how risky this kind of promise was.

Yet the CDU was determined to introduce a clear thrust to its policies to make sure that it could not be accused of constantly chasing after the spirit of the times.

As a result of these efforts to shape the *Zeitgeist* Chancellor Kohl must now suffer the ridicule of some and face the disappointment of others.

After it came to power almost all the government's time was initially taken up with economic and fiscal policy "repair work."

When asked about the promised change in moral values Chancellor Kohl evaded *the issue* by claiming that priority had to be given to decisions in other fields.

The government has made great efforts to morally reshape its family and educational policies. Yet even these efforts were not really praised.

In particular, the Catholic church complained that pragmatism was given precedence over ethics in the abortion debate.

Now the life of this Bundestag is coming to an end more and more people are wondering whether the strain of everyday politics was in fact the real reason for the apparent lack of CDU moral leadership.

Yet is this the task of government? Helmut Schmidt, for example, disputed the fact that it is a Chancellor's task to mark out a moral path for society.

He seemed unperturbed by the accusations of left-wing intellectuals who criticised him for a purely pragmatic get-things-done approach as opposed to willingness to carry out ideological experiments.

It was this very fact which made Schmidt so popular among many CDU supporters.

Konrad Adenauer and Ludwig Erhard secured a sound majority for their party for many years by setting up the Federal Republic on the foundations of a social market economy.

Their concept was primarily economic and not moral.

Helmut Kohl also gained his majority via pragmatic promises to put public finance back on an even keel and thus create the conditions needed for a new economic upswing.

The CDU and CSU have always been able to count on their conservative-liberal voters, even though there has been a sociolgical shift in this group over the years.

The paramount question, therefore, is whether and how the CDU can secure the votes of the majority of this electoral group in future.

Basically, the CDU is much less a political party than the SPD. During the Adenauer period it was often called an association of dignitaries.

Today the party appears to be an amalgamation of interest groups whose common denominator is economic success rather than fundamental Christian belief.

This means there is a serious risk of a split within the party if economic success is not achieved.

Although the CDU may be less of a political party than the SPD, its spectrum is as wide as that of the political centre of the West German electorate.

This makes the party almost insensitive to ideologies unless, that is, the utility principle is regarded as a philosophy.

Although support for the CDU for reasons of expediency may be a respectable motive, it makes the party more vulnerable to the criticism of intellectuals within its ranks who claim that the party neglects its moral commitments for the sake of power.

The CDU has started to iron out its programmatic shortcomings in this respect.

However, in the eyes of those who feel that theory is more important than political practice the CDU is an opportunistic party which is not all that interested in creating a clear-cut moral image.

Even those who have been in the CDU for many years probably find it difficult to find suitable answers when asked about their party's moral qualities.

Despite its efficient infrastructure the lack of a guiding idea makes the CDU fairly vulnerable.

Adenauer's main political aim was to build a new Germany, Helmut Kohl sees his main task as that of making adjustments in the field of economic and internal security.

Although he has been successful, what will keep the CDU together when the objectives of day-to-day politics have been achieved?

Even in the age of ideologists the CDU cannot see its main task as that of running after the spirit of the times.

Ideologists tend to regard themselves as the harbingers of salvation. However, a declaration of support for the market economy system is not enough.

Without a tangible guiding principle it will be difficult to ensure the support of a majority of the political centre.

Ludwig Harms

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 18 April 1986)

Bangemann and Genscher are an effective team

FDP general secretary Helmut Haussmann openly admits he initially had his doubts about the shift in the party's leadership structure.

One year after Martin Bangemann succeeded Hans-Dietrich Genscher as party chairman, however, it looks as if the "experiment" has been successful.

As Bangemann was more or less a newcomer to domestic politics after many years as a Euro-politician and Genscher was looking rather weary in the wake of party-political struggles this is good news for the party.

The change at the top was born of necessity. But the Bangemann-Genscher "tandem" is looking good. Yet the real surprise is how things have developed for ex-chairman Genscher.

For some time there were rumours within his own party that he had only accepted his forced resignation because he didn't care who was party chairman.

Genscher didn't adopt this tactical approach himself. He accepted the fact that Bangemann was up front while he sat on the pillion.

He may perhaps have whispered a few words in Bangemann's ear. After all, Genscher knows where the potholes are in Bonn and how to cycle 'round them. But he does not visibly try to alter the course.

He only claims leadership in his the field of foreign policy. In talks with the coalition partner or the Chancellor Genscher always backs Bangemann's position.

This striking solidarity for the new man at the top of the FDP is by no means a case of noble feelings of comradeship. Self-interest certainly plays a part.

By helping to choose his successor Genscher naturally assumed some of the responsibility for his success or failure.

Even the most insignificant attempts to question Bangemann's authority would backfire on Genscher himself.

Because of his restraint in this respect Genscher has regained his once waning popularity within the FDP.

Genscher, who was heavily criticised by many FDP supporters when the party changed coalition partners in 1982, is again one of the most popular top politicians.

He is not only successful within the FDP, but has also gathered points in his favour as foreign minister.

The question whether Genscher would be able to do so without being party chairman and given the opposition of the CSU and its chairman Franz Josef Strauss now seems superfluous.

Foreign minister Genscher has by and large determined Bonn's foreign policy course.

Although the attempts by the Chancellor's Office to take over more responsiblity in this field led to friction, most of them have been to no avail.

Genscher has the backing of the FDP and the support of Chancellor Kohl. The differing views on certain issues, for example, the American approach to the Libyan problem, do not alter this fact.

Martin Bangemann is finding things more difficult than Genscher. He is not a man with a broad voter appeal.

His impulsive political style and his refusal to remain deadly serious on all occasions stand in the way of more widespread acceptance.

Before the personal quirks of otherwise efficient politicians are accepted in politics many years of persevering work are needed.

Bangemann's problem with his own image is also relevant for the FDP as a whole.

The FDP wants to base its general election campaign on the claim that a coalition between the conservative (CDU and CSU) and liberal (FDP) parties is better able to tackle the problems of the future than a CDU/CSU government with an absolute majority.

Doubts about the Chancellor's qualities, however, are difficult to turn into votes for the FDP if the FDP's own chairman is suffering from similar problems with his own image.

A successful foreign minister alone is not enough. So the party tandem has a difficult stretch of road ahead of it.

Hans Peter Schütz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 April 1986)

Rau radiates optimism as SPD candidate

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE

Johannes Rau has held his first press conference in Bonn as Shadow Chancellor of the Social Democrats (SPD).

His debut confirmed that he is going to be a tricky opponent for Chancellor Helmut Kohl during the coming general election.

Rau has a remarkable ability to canvass for his own personality while at the same time avoiding any attempts to claim too much expertise in any one policy field.

He also cleverly avoids being committed to a specific position on any one issue.

One reason for not making firm commitments to certain positions is obviously so as not to upset those who have different views in his own party.

His standard response to questions trying to "nail" him was that he is still thinking the question over. He even manages to present this pensiveness as one of his positive traits.

His humour and quick-wittedness are likely to have widespread appeal. Above all, he doesn't allow a negative image to be created.

Rau only made a commitment on one *issue: the relationship* between the SPD and the Greens.

He neither intends forming a coalition with the Greens nor allowing his party to be elected or tolerated by them.

As he is likely to be asked this question time and time again during the election campaign he can be expected to reply along similar lines on each occasion.

The great clarity with which he dissociates himself from the Greens could have a similar effect to that in the state election in North Rhine-Westphalia, where the Greens received less votes than they expected.

However, an absolute majority for the SPD at a national level, something the SPD achieved in North Rhine-Westphalia, is more wishful thinking on Rau's part than a realistic goal.

The SPD was the strongest single party following the general election in 1972. Rau's objective is probably to repeat that success.

It is not just by chance that he refers to the role of the federal president, whose responsibility it is to request a party to form a government.

If the CDU and FDP fail to achieve an absolute majority the federal president would ask the leader of the strongest single party to form a government.

This party could then assume power following a third (secret) ballot and by a simple majority.

This consideration is of growing importance in Rau's election campaign strategy.

By considering this possibility Rau at least gives the impression of an open race in which he optimistically takes part. And optimism always pulls the voters.

Achim Melchers

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 24 April 1986)

■ BERLIN

GDR connives at abuse of right of asylum

While fewer ethnic Germans are allowed across the Berlin Wall to the West the GDR sends over a stream of dubious applicants for political asylum from the Third World.

Whenever the East-West conflict affects the man on the street, political realities become painfully apparent.

This explains why politicians from the East and, unfortunately, from the West often try to bypass specific instances of human rights violations and call for discretion.

There are four main scenarios in this context in Germany today:

- Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski and his Bonn counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher have had to turn their attention to the humanitarian implications of the already awkward relationship between their two countries.

The number of Germans wishing to leave Poland is estimated at 140,000 by the Red Cross.

Other Polish citizens of German origin would like to be able to express their language and culture like other minorities in Poland (Ukrainians, Lithuanians and White Russians).

- During his visit to Bonn the GDR's Günter Mittag was (once again) confronted by humanitarian problems that impose a burden on intra-German relations.

At the same time, the GDR has again complained to the *United Nations of Berufsverbote* (exclusion from a civil service profession by government ruling) and "solitary confinement torture" in the Federal Republic of Germany.

- Berlin was the scene of a new bomb raid on one of the major allies of free Germany.

Is Western cooperation in the fight against terrorism effective enough and is the East indirectly supporting terrorists?

- At the same time, a highly controversial humanitarian problem has developed in Berlin.

How can the seemingly never-ending flow of persons from Third World countries seeking asylum in the West and entering West Berlin via East Berlin be stopped?

In many cases, they are enticed to come to the West by promises which cannot be kept.

Despite the differing nature of these scenarios the on-the-spot implications for the persons involved are very similar.

The desires of ethnic Germans — or whatever they are called by each side — are definitely there, motivating (and dividing!) families and destabilising economic plans.

Many West German politicians take advantage of this problem to polemicise against Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The ethnic Germans want no more than the right to leave a country, a right which has often been proclaimed in ceremonial declarations on human rights.

As regards the human rights of citizens in the GDR left-wing slogans cannot disguise the fact that Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, has a commitment to preserve the unity of the German people.

This means building bridges between and helping people who suffer from the division of Germany and in many cases want to leave the GDR.

Perhaps it is true, and experience would suggest it is, that loud complaints and gaudy TV films are less effective in this respect than silent and persevering efforts.

However, the struggle for human rights will only come to an end when all Germans are able to freely determine their fate.

The large number of asylum-seekers in Berlin is a special problem. Pithy *speeches certainly cannot help here.*

The Western powers and Bonn are rigidly sticking to the policy of open borders within Berlin.

Naturally terrorists can slip through these "gaps in the Wall" and the Americans have evidence to suggest that the *terrorist or terrorists who planted the* bomb at the Berlin discotheque was (or were) connected with the Libyan people's bureau in East Berlin.

This problem was discussed with the head of the Chancellor's Office in Bonn, Wolfgang Schäuble. The situation, he says, is as complicated as it is clear.

"There are checks," Schäuble emphasised, "but we view Berlin as a *whole* and we should not for our part worsen the illegal division (of Berlin).

"What is more, there is no special *Berlin* security risk. Anyone can enter our country at every border and via every airport with valid travel, particularly diplomatic, documents."

The question of persons seeking asylum, however, is slightly different in the Berlin context.

"The GDR," he said, "is definitely in a position to maintain travel restrictions between parts of Germany, especially those which are problematic."

It could, he said, check foreigners more thoroughly if it wanted to.

There were hopes that the situation might improve when the GDR stopped the influx of Tamils in mid-1985 by insisting they held a visa for their country of destination.

"The GDR then avoided the problem of defining what 'country of destination' means," Schäuble added.

It is also interesting to note that the GDR would appear to meet the Federal Republic, but not Berlin, halfway.

Schäuble feels that this is an attempt to misuse the problem of the right of asylum: "We reject such an approach. Persons seeking asylum are not levers which can be used to alter the status of Berlin."

Moscow would appear to play a major part *in this political game of poker.*

At first glance one could suspect that the Soviets, who transport many asylum applicants from Third World countries to East Berlin airport, are mainly interested in foreign exchange earnings.

The Americans, however, feel that in reality Moscow's main intention is to make it clear to the East Germans that they are do not have "sovereign" powers on this issue.

As regard the problems facing Germans in Poland the Bonn government is confronted by a host of objective obstacles and Polish domestic difficulties.

Bonn has been "noiselessly" busy in this field for many years.

There have been and are politicians in Poland who trying to fix a "deadline" by which a relatively large number of exit applications have been cleared.

The desolate economic situation in Poland, however, and the feeling that the Polish government is not yet strong enough to take such a step are more determinant factors.

Almost all of Bonn's diplomats who have worked in Warsaw (or still do) do *not* agree with the figures issued by exiles' associations back home.

A figure of one million Germans in Poland is incorrect, they claim.

Furthermore, there are no more than a "few hundred" people who would like organised German cultural activities, i.e. German newspapers, organisations and links with Bonn.

One close adviser to Chancellor Kohl and member of the Bonn government therefore feels that the setting-up of a cultural institution or Goethe institute must have "absolute priority" over dealing with the "problems of the German minority" as *called for by the CDU and CSU members* of the exiles' associations.

Foreign Minister Orzechowski, however, prefers to pass on this question.

He can only imagine a youth exchange programme or even cultural institutions "at the end of further normalisation", which basically means that the items in such an institute (books, maps) would be censored.

The Polish government would appear to falsely believe that Bonn will go back on the Constitutional Court's decision on the treaty between the two countries, accept Polish ideas on place names and curb the *Landsmannschaften*, or exiles' associations.

It apparently ignores the fact that there are a growing number of CDU/CSU politicians who openly or more discreetly feel that the Oder-Neisse Line still exists and are not willing to bend historical facts or ignore the requirements of Basic Law.

It is often pointed out that ethnic Germans in Hungary and Rumania are allowed to have German newspapers, educational facilities etc., albeit with a strong Communist leaning.

However, anyone seeking a comparison here ignores Poland's specific experience with the German minority before 1939 when it was misused by Hitler, or before 1933 when it was misused by the *Nationalists.*

This may seem irrational in terms of quantity, but it does play an important part in the psychology of this Eastern neighbour.

The government in Bonn, therefore, must primarily keep on insisting that those who wish to leave Poland should be allowed to do so.

In many cases there are tragic conflicts when trying to obtain an exit permit.

Polish-German families are often torn apart, many Poles are envious of those who are allowed to leave the country.

Many try to join their families in the West after hearing about what the West has to offer from those German-Poles who come back to Poland on holiday.

Many of the existing problems would not exist if Poland didn't suffer to such an extent under the Communist mismanagement of the economy.

So what about applying the "economic lever" as demanded by the exiles' associations? A[illegible]mbargo policy showed [illegible] would not work.

It is better to draw up a tacit agreement of some kind and try to change the situation step by step.

This is the approach favoured by the government in Bonn, i.e. by both the Foreign Minister and the Chancellor.

The Bonn government's policy towards the GDR is also marked by realism and success and is based on respect for human rights.

Helmut Kohl clearly rejected the stance the SPD would like to see on certain issues.

As for the demand for the Salzgitter office that registers offences committed by GDR authorities to be closed, Chancellor

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An overview of Checkpoint Charlie with new GDR border facilities under construction behind the Berlin Wall (Photo: dpa)

Allied rights

Allied rights for Berlin as a whole mean efforts by the authorities in Berlin (West) to stem the tide of asylum-seekers from Berlin (East) are more or less futile.

Most reach the border via Schönefeld airport, East Berlin, or by train from Warsaw and Prague.

They are then able to cross the border into West Berlin by subway (S-Bahn or U-Bahn), almost without any kind of border check (except in the East, of course).

The GDR authorities are not even interested in whether they have passports or visas (except for Sri Lanka Tamils).

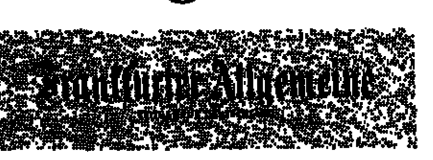
Since Allied rights do not allow the civilian authorities to check subway premises the police can neither check nor turn back foreigners at the border.

Checks are only allowed once they leave one of dozens of railway stations.

What is more, there's no point trying to send the foreigners back, *since the GDR strictly refuses to let them* back into East Berlin.

■ OSTPOLITIK

Bonn must do more to help Germans in Rumania to migrate to the West



Nicolae Ceausescu, Rumania's head of state and Communist Party leader, would appear to be feeling rather lonely at the moment on the stage of world affairs.

That could explain why he is so eagerly searching for potential political hosts and guests. One politician he would definitely like to see in Bucharest is Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Rumanian envoys already seem sure that Chancellor Kohl will visit Rumania before the year is out. The Chancellor's Office in Bonn, on the other hand, is not so certain.

Although, it has stated, the possibility of a visit this year cannot be ruled out, there are no definite plans.

Above all, the Chancellor's Office emphasises, Chancellor Kohl does not intend coming back from Rumania empty-handed.

This means that agreement must be reached *before* the visit on substantial Rumanian concessions on issues involving German interests.

The Chancellor's Office shares the view that the desire of the majority of German-Rumanians to emigrate to the Federal Republic of Germany is among the "specific issues of interest."

This item has been on the agenda of talks between the two countries for many years.

Outside observers find it difficult to understand why certain politicians in Bonn are so emotionally against approaching this problem in a more realistic manner.

The problem is not only political but also humanitarian, since ethnic Germans in Rumania are suffering under the current situation.

What is more, "denationalisation" measures, such as the limitation of school lessons in the German language, are now becoming effective.

Roughly 250,000 Germans still live in Rumania. They are either Transsylvanian Saxons or Banat Swabians.

If emigration continues at its present pace the majority of those who have applied for exit permits are either unlikely to live long enough to emigrate or will be more than in the prime of their lives by the time it takes place.

This is an unacceptable situation.

For some time it looked as if the Foreign Office in Bonn was unwilling to tackle the problem of German-Rumanians because the current regulation was "satisfactory."

Any increase in the emigration quotas would have necessitated tough prior negotations.

It was also claimed that Rumania was particularly important for conferences within the CSCE framework, where it adopts an allegedly "independent" position.

The topic wasn't even broached during Mr Ceausescu's 1984 visit to Bonn.

The Rumanians surprised Bonn in 1983 by issuing an emigration decree on the occasion of the expiry of the five-year Schmidt-Ceausescu agreement.

In it they demanded financial compensation in the form of foreign exchange for the "lost" educational costs for Germans wishing to leave Rumania.

However, Rumania dropped this idea due primarily to American pressure.

Instead of taking advantage of this *situation Bonn only managed to negotiate* a five-year extension of the agreement, agreeing to pay DM8,000 for each German who emigrates from Rumania.

Now Bonn would prefer to accept this agreement rather than run the risk of even greater financial demands by Rumania.

Rumanian officials already cynically remark that it might pay off for Rumania to breed Germans instead of pigs, since this would be more profitable.

The Rumanians continue to unofficially ask Germans wishing to emigrate for head money of between DM5,000 and DM10,000.

The Foreign Office in Bonn seems to have resigned itself to this fact and doesn't "officially" acknowledge it.

For many years Bonn even expressed *its doubts about whether German-Rumanians* really wanted to emigrate.

This was in reference to official re*marks* by Lutheran Bishop Klein of Transsylvania, who had initially demanded that his church adopt a neutral stance on the emigration question.

Then, however, under Rumanian pressure he was obliged to urge German-Rumanians to stay in Rumania.

Some people even went so far as to praise the fact that Rumanians in Banat used German-speaking priests to seize control of the Catholic church there from the Hungarians.

These arguments, however, have now disappeared.

The Transsylvanian *Landsmannschaft*, the welfare and cultural association in the Federal Republic of Germans born in this region, would now seem to have generally accepted the fact that emigration is the only solution.

In earlier years supporters and opponents of emigration were almost equally represented in this organisation.

Hans Hartl's memorandum entitled *Vertrieben, aber im Vertreibungsland zurückgehalten* came to the conclusion that the Rumanian measures since 1945 had robbed the German ethnic group of the basis of its material and cultural existence.

Most German-Rumanians themselves, Hartl claims, regard emigration as the only real solution.

Although this would mean the end of an 800-year cultural tradition (at least in the case of the Transsylvanian Saxons), the memorandum explains, the fate of people today is more important. So are the provisions of Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution.

The *Landsmannschaft*, which can claim to have proper relations with the Rumanian government, also emphasises that the situation for German-Rumanians has further deteriorated since 1983 and that leading members of the Transsylvanian church now openly support emigration as the only solution.

The Rumanian side is not averse to negotiations on this question. This makes it all the more surprising why Bonn doesn't take up this problem.

Even emigration in one go could be considered. The current quota at least should be doubled.

Were the Federal Republic to wield its influence in the European Community on Rumania's behalf, the Rumanians might not even ask for more emigration money.

Admittedly, the determined will to negotiate must exist.

Unfortunately, the Bonn Economics Ministry, probably "recommended" to do so by the Foreign Office, has already stated that it will support the demands made to the European Community by Rumania.

A country such as Hungary, on the other hand, which has much better preconditions in political and other re*spects, should not, it has been stated,* be treated better than Rumania.

During his last visit to Rumania Economics Minister Martin Bangemann didn't even touch upon the subject of German-Rumanians.

Even Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss, who has always had a predilection for the role of political outsider, has advocated prepayments to Ceausescu as if *do ut des* had not always been the basis of successful policies.

At least the Chancellor's Office in Bonn has lately been able to introduce more realism into German Ostpolitik.

Viktor Meier

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 March 1986)

Continued from page 4

Kohl emphasised that it would be more logical to do away with the offences.

The system of buying the freedom of political prisoners (set up by Rainer Barzel many years ago) has proved useful.

Such operations have almost become a part of the more general and economic relations between the two countries.

This, of course, is no reason for loud cries of success: dictatorships have their own psychopathology.

Left-wing publications very rarely relate to the fate of Germans in Poland and in the GDR.

They tend to concentrate on the alleged inhumanity of Berlin's CDU towards foreigners who come from the GDR to seek asylum. This issue, however, requires a cool and composed analysis.

How can the fact that year after year more and more people from distant cultures pour into the island of Berlin and are often deceived and misled result in more security?

Scandinavian politicians have been partially successful in persuading the GDR not to send them foreigners who want to stay in Europe for economic reasons.

Didn't Stalin predict that the expellees would one day turn out to be a "time-bomb" for the western part of Germany?

Although this has not been the case, arent't his political successors in Berlin playing a similar game? Bonn must find a solution to this problem together with its protecting powers.

Human rights are at stake, and the right not to be deceived by Europeans and plunged into distress which is often just as great as the poverty in their native countries.

Jürgen Wahl

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 12 April 1986)

■ MONEY

Big Three banks post record profits — at account-holder's expense?

The banks are making money hand over fist. Last year they made record profits. Professor Claus Köhler of the Bundesbank said that the economy as a whole should be pleased they had. They mean, however, that someone has to pay for them.

He said: "If company profits are set aside as reserves rather than distributed, shareholders are then the losers. High bank profits can then only be achieved if investors are offered a low return and credit customers pay high interest rates.

"The depreciation allowance on losses can be set against tax. In West Germany depreciation allowances run into billions. The resulting decrease in tax revenues means, however, the general public pay for these losses." They look likely to continue to do so.

Eighteenth-century philosophical historian Charles Montesquieu wrote: "Nothing must be considered with greater precaution and wisdom than deciding what to take from subjects and what to let them keep."

The Deutsche Bank used this quotation to chastise our inhibiting taxation system. The shoe would fit better if the word subject was replaced by bank account-holders.

Only the banks' executive boards would maintain that the banks' interest rate and charges are evidence of "great wisdom."

Frankfurter Rundschau

It cannot be denied that they are cautious. Anyone who puts money in an ordinary savings account gets a miserly 2.5 per cent interest. But a customer who takes out a bridging loan or a credit pays almost 10 per cent.

It is not surprising then that the banks are doing good business. The three main German banks, Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank, earned more money last year than ever.

The January-March results this year indicate that the Big Three will again announce hefty profits for 1986.

The margin between what the banks demand in interest on loans and what they pay on deposits may have narrowed, but with business booming they are still minting money.

Record profits are this time round a result of the boom in shares and fixed interest bonds. This has produced better business for all three banks than ever before. They have not only done well as brokers handling share deals for their customers, but also the trio have done very well trading on their own account.

All is sunshine and light in the banks' executive suites.

Commerzbank boss Walter Seipp said that final results were better than ever before. His Dresdner Bank counterpart Wolfgang Röller said he was delighted "to be able to present an exceptionally good final result for the year."

Even the buttoned-up Friedrich Wilhelm Christians, one of the two chairmen of Deutsche Bank, spoke of a successful year.

But customers get no benefits from these good results, and even shareholders are given scant consideration.

Commerzbank and Dresdner Bank did indeed increase their dividends by a third, to eight and ten marks respectively, but Deutsche Bank continued to pay 12 per cent on each DM50 share currently quoted at nearly DM900.

Yet all three asked shareholders to increase their capital.

They have used this year's enormous profits and bubbling share market to build up their own capital assets and puff out the cushioning against wobbly credits.

Capital increase plans worked out variously for the banks. Deutsche and Dresdner were able to push their programmes through without a hiccup, but Commerzbank just managed to avoid a flop.

Share quotations sank suddenly so that eventually the new Commerzbank shares were dearer than the older ones.

Walter Seipp admits that this was "unpleasant," but, of course, he had not jumped out without a parachute.

To save the bank from a belly-landing the Japanese, of all people, came to the rescue. They picked up large amounts of the shares that could not be placed in this country.

Obviously the shock caused by this dealing, that almost did not come off, went deep. The Commerzbank has only just been able to cope with the problems the bank was saddled with at the beginning of the 1980s.

Then a glaring misjudgment was made in assuming that interest rates would remain high. Shareholders got no dividends for three years.

Understandably Seipp tried to reburnish the bank's tarnished public image and, as is usual in banking, went into raptures.

Pointing to the year's final results he told the public that the bank had "entered a new phase." He patted himself on the shoulder and said that in dealings with international issues the Commerzbank was time and time again a pioneer, "when it came to putting to the test the various innovations in this particularly fantastic market."

The list of companies in which the bank holds a stake — from Karstadt to Hannover-Papier, Linde, Sachs, Didier, Hochtief, Heidelberger Druckmaschinen to Thyssen — had the purpose of whetting shareholders' appetites.

The bank's investment assets are again in the firing line because they own too much.

The Commerzbank people consider their own equity as undervalued. They particularly regard the gap between their share quotation and Dresdner Bank equity as too large.

Christians of the conservative Deutsche Bank made clear what he thought of all the bombast. He made a side thrust at his colleagues when he said: "I advise every executive board to refrain from comment on the share price."

Like Seipp he was also unable to explain why. That would have been l[illegible] the cat out of the bag.

Deutsche Bank shareholders w[illegible] be too pleased with the bank's divid[illegible] policy in view of the record pro[illegible] Christians paints a dismal picture to damp down their covetousness.

His pessimistic estimates of cr[illegible] risks have unfortunately been confirmed. He said: "Any day they bring fresh burdens and demands."

For this reason provision for doubtful debts must be given priority.

Deutsche Bank, the largest bank in the country, could place profits in reserves, so reducing tax liability, as far as was feasible.

To this Christians commented: "we should not overtax our credit with the tax authorities."

Despite the board's consideration the bank's tax bill of DM1.7bn has caused delight in the tax office.

Expenditures were almost 36 per cent higher than they were in the previous year, which only goes to show how profitable the bank's business has been.

Dresdner Bank's tax bill dropped [illegible] per cent to DM500m, and Commerzbank paid DM313m in taxes, an increase of 18 per cent.

Deutsche Bank has already ta[illegible] precautions for what is regarded as r[illegible] abroad. The bank has placed 39 per cent of DM4bn profits into reserves. In 1984 a good 50 per cent of profits [illegible] kept in hand as cushioning against doubtful loans.

The volume of risky loans to foreign governments has been reduced by about five per cent to DM7.4bn.

Dresdner Bank is almost on the same footing as the giant Deutsche Bank, having stashed away between DM1.25bn and DM1.5bn in reserves. Commerzbank has put away almost a billion marks for this purpose.

For the Dresdner three-quarters of these reserves, and for the Commerzbank two-thirds, have been earmarked to cover credits made to countries heavily in debt.

The current fall in the dollar is easing the position. Loans of this kind are made in US dollars so that at present they cost less in marks.

Views differ on whether the banks stand to benefit from this. Alfred Herrhausen, co-chairman with Christians of the Deutsche Bank, damps down expectations. He says: "The debt crisis is not easy to manage."

Seipp also does not believe that the problem has been overcome, but he excludes the likelihood, feared by many, of a total collapse.

Commerzbank goes a [illegible] Seipp says German banks have the unique chance to strengthen their capital so as to cover credits.

The problems [illegible]ernational money and capital markets seem to be ing[illegible]. There is a considerable risk pot[illegible] hidden [illegible]ancial reforms [illegible]ularly true for ba[illegible] which banks under[illegible] form of guarantee for other cre[illegible] with small profit margins, w[illegible] knowing exactly whether, when and [illegible] they have to meet these obligations.

They totalled $50bn last year, [illegible] 70 per cent more than in 1984.

The Big Three will remain internationally competitive if they partic[illegible] in this business to a marked extent, [illegible] there are fresh dangers in it.

Wilfried Güth, chairman of the Deutsche Bank supervisory board: "The variety of new forms of credit [illegible] the combination of share issue bus[illegible] and standby credits in case the [illegible]

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■ TRANSPORT

Seamen's strike solves none of German shipping's real problems

German merchant seamen were on strike for only five days, so their first strike in 90 years did little real damage to the economy.

Even now the unions and employers have come to terms the atmosphere on board, a factor rated so highly by both sides as a bargaining point, is unlikely to have changed much for better or for worse.

Such revolutionary changes in transport systems and technical requirements are sweeping the international shipping trade that labour has a steadily less important part to play.

In container shipping manpower costs while ships are at sea are already a minor consideration. Costs in port and on land are what count.

That is not to mention the enormous cost of buying and running a ship, such a heavy investment that ships must wherever be possible be kept on the move and earning money round the clock.

Yet German shipowners say the wage terms just agreed are more than most companies can afford and cannot be offset by stepping up productivity.

That is true enough. The 1.7-per-cent wage rate increase for all 20,000 seamen working on board German ships affects all units. So does the extra leave.

The problem is that large-scale container vessels run by a shipping line can definitely cope with the extra cost more easily than a small general cargo tramp freighter.

German manpower and crewing regulations are so strict there is scant leeway for rationalisation on board German-registered small freighters. So with higher freight rates wishful thinking at present, the trend to reregister under flags of convenience seems sure to increase.

The cost of wage incidentals, such as employers' contributions to health and pension insurance, are much lower abroad than in the Federal Republic.

The difference is particularly striking in countries with open registers where ships from all over the world can be registered and neither the shipowner nor the management need to be based there.

The German Shipowners Association constantly complains of economic hardship, but its complaints are only partly true. Almost all line shipping had a very good year last year.

The exception were lines serving routes where the dollar failed to provide an economic fillip. They included South America.

Lines that serve the Near and Middle East faced problems too. Their difficulty is the decline in imports by countries in the region as a result of falling oil prices.

Good business in other parts of the world was used by shipowners to go ahead with further rationalisation, with even closer cooperation and formation of consortiums on main routes.

Shipping conferences are viewed less askance in the United States now antitrust legislation has been amended. They provide protection from unwelcome competition.

Rates and discounts are agreed by the conference. So are sailings, the allocation of freight and the number of ships in service.

This international cooperation between leading shipowners and shipping corporations is an attempt to remedy negative trends due, for instance, to the continued burden of surplus freight tonnage on world shipping.

As soon as trade anywhere promises to run at a profit outsiders rush in, usually to undercut conference rates.

They can keep up the pace until the conference responds by cutting its rates too, which is usually when the outsiders retire from the fray.

This cycle is nothing new. What is new is a technical change of which no-one yet knows what the repercussions may be.

Last year two lines launched round-the-world services run by gigantic freighters capable of carrying many more containers than the largest container ships currently in use.

These king-sized container freighters sail round the world at regular intervals, berthing at only a handful of ports that are either served by local maritime links or themselves serve extensive hinterlands.

Experts refer to the round-the-world services as a freight pipeline running right round the globe.

All shipowners first viewed the experiment somewhat sceptically. It was beset by logistical problems and capital and running costs exceeded anything previously known.

But the main argument was that round-the-world services were inevitably based on combined costing.

Revenue on busy routes must help to foot the bill of serving less popular destinations, but the competition on busy runs is fierce, especially from ships that serve them only and thus have lower costs.

Time has yet to tell who is right, but the signs are that the attraction of an international network is greater than critics are prepared to concede.

Tramp shippers are confronted only marginally with problems of this nature. Their main problem is surplus capacity. So they need to grasp at any opportunity of cutting costs, including flags of convenience.

They have scant hopes of the outlook improving. The two main causes of surplus tonnage cannot really be eliminated. One is shipbuilding subsidies, the other is new shipbuilding capacity.

There is no way to stem the tide of subsidies, and new shipyards continue to be built.

Shipbuilding capacity may be mothballed in Europe but its place is promptly taken by new shipyards in the developing countries, not to mention Korea and Japan, which are determined to keep their shipyards going at almost any cost.

As merchant shipping is a strictly international business German shipowners and crews must necessarily hold their own against international competition.

Gerd Achilles

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 22 April 1986)

Truckers forced to break law or face the sack

Roughly 400 trade union lorry-drivers from North Rhine-Westphalia held a protest meeting in Duisburg to complain about black sheep in their ranks.

They called for stringent checks of road haulage firms by factory inspectors to clamp down on firms and drivers who break the rules.

Basically their complaints were a self-indictment. Almost all drivers break the rules. They have no choice if they want to keep their jobs.

Walter, a 47-year-old Duisburg man, has worked as a trucker since 1957 and may soon have driven for 30 years without an accident.

But he readily admits to being a persistent traffic offender. He has to bend the rules to earn a living. "Nearly all of us are black sheep," he says. But drivers say their employers are to blame.

Walter says he regularly works a 15-hour day and a 90-hour week. He works for a well-known haulage contractor and says his working conditions are typical of the trade.

To stay in business firms accept all cargoes regardless of the terms. The driver is left to sort matters out. Time is money. The need to save one and earn more of the other keeps drivers on their toes.

"We have no choice," he says, "but to work longer hours than we ought, to work when we shouldn't and to drive payloads that are too heavy at speeds that are too high."

The police are hoodwinked in any number of ways. "Spy-in-the-cab" tachographs can be "fixed" with adhesive tape or cotton wool so as not to record speeds over a certain level.

The telltale disc of graph paper has often been eaten by drivers checked by the police. They swallow the evidence

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE

secure in the knowledge that all they face is a fine for not being able to produce their disc.

The fine is much lower than the cost of prosecution for driving illegal hours.

Drivers who don't do what they are told are promptly sacked. "If I refuse a dozen other drivers are ready and willing to take my place," Walter says.

He takes truckloads all over the country, often driving 12 hours non-stop — and on his own, with only fear as his companion.

"I have one leg in the grave and the other in jail," he says.

Terrible accidents occur when fog descends on autobahns in the Lower Rhine area. Pile-ups involving dangerous cargoes regularly reveal what comes little short of criminal malpractice.

A Bavarian survey of traffic accidents involving heavy goods vehicles last year found tired drivers to have been to blame in 61.5 per cent of cases.

"Wage agreements just aren't enough to ensure observation of safety regulations," says Reinhold Mosch, of the road transport workers' union.

The union wants to strike at the root

Continued on page 8

■ WORK

Moonlighting grows even more popular

Frankfurter Rundschau

Moonlighting and employing illegal labour in the Federal Republic of Germany have assumed *alarming proportions*, says Heinrich Franke, head of the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg.

Turnover of the parallel or "black" economy is an estimated DM180bn a year, or 10 per cent of GNP. That means at least DM50bn lost in tax and social security revenue.

He told a Nuremberg press conference the authorities had fined illegal employers DM10.4m in roughly 1,300 cases last year.

Despite heavy fines there was clearly good money to be made in the business. Herr Franke mentioned an employer who worked with "black" sub-contractors and was fined DM1.9m for employing them.

Yet they worked 1.3 million manhours and totalled DM39m in turnover. So the fines were a mere pinprick in comparison.

Last year the Labour Office brought 191,000 cases to light. In nearly 106,000 proceedings, or 23,000 more than in 1984, fines of one kind or another were imposed.

Illegal work increased in quality as well as quantity. "Offences are growing steadily more serious," Herr Franke said.

The 17,000 criminal proceedings brought by the Labour Office last year were a 35-per-cent increase on 1984.

Cases that came to light are said to be no more than the tip of an iceberg. No-one really knows the true extent of illegal employment and can say with any accuracy what it costs the economy.

Estimates range from 100,000 to 600,000 people illegally employed. Herr Franke feels half a million is a realistic figure.

The parallel economy is estimated at DM180bn, or 10 per cent of GNP and at least DM50bn in lost tax and social security revenue.

The financial damage moonlighting does society and social security is not the only aspect.

It also destroys existing bona fide jobs and prevents the creation of new ones, undermining bids to reduce unemployment.

Moonlighters have limited welfare rights and job security. They compete unfairly with firms that operate legally and above board.

A further point close to Herr Franke's heart is that moonlighters often cash in twice, drawing unemployment benefit *and* earning money taxfree on the side.

Illegal hiring of "black" labour presents the Labour Office and law enforcement authorities with growing problems. Proving manpower is illegally employed is *increasingly difficult even though the criteria* are fairly straightforward.

The cover provided by bogus contracts is growing increasingly impenetrable, says the Labour Office's Richard Wanka.

Bogus contracts are providing increasingly effective camouflage for what really goes on, which is best described in terms of organised crime.

Since 1982 legal procedures have been improved to help combat moonlighting more effectively. Regulations have been tightened up. Federal and *Land* government agencies pool information more readily.

The Federal Labour Office now has overall responsibility for coordinating investigations. Points of organisation have been set up at 29 labour exchanges and nine *Land* labour offices.

A staff of 350 work from these branch offices to stem the tide of illegal labour. But success so far has been limited.

Herr Franke regrets that the authorities have yet to register any real success in stemming the tide of illegal labour, let *alone cutting it back*.

A further 250 staff at 146 labour exchanges are to specialise in keeping order in the labour market, as the Labour Promotion Act puts it..

The Labour Office hopes better and more extensive use of computers will improve the performance of the law enforcement agencies.

Thilo Kössler

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 April 1986)

Help for payroll with alcohol problems probed in Munich

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Nearly two people out of three employed in the Federal Republic of Germany regularly drink alcohol at work. Sixty-three per cent drink beer, 23 per cent wine and 16 per cent spirits.

At least five per cent of the labour force (and a corresponding number of employers) can be considered to be alcoholics, according to statistics compiled by a German addiction research group.

Company executives and works councillors discussed how best to approach the problem at a conference held by a Protestant Church welfare association in Munich.

It is a problem that is growing increasingly urgent. Fear of the sack heightens pressure at work and steps up the temptation to drink more often — even in firms that are not run very strictly.

Workers minding automatic machines need only to feed them now and again, so they have time on their hands — time to reach for the bottle during the break.

Says social worker Bianca Mecklenburg of the addiction research group: "Where there has always been a bottle of beer at arm's length there is now much more time in which workers can drink it.".

The isolation at work encouraged by advances in microelectronics is an added temptation.

People heading up or down at work are both in special danger, says the *group's* Herbert Ziegler.

In a boom economy firms can afford to "carry" staff with an alcohol problem. Nowadays, says Professor Eleonore von Rotenhan, in charge of welfare at Siemens, a more level-headed view is held:

"An alcoholic costs about DM12,000 in extra wage bills over the year."

Siemens have spent over DM40,000 on 200,000 leaflets and 50,000 posters to publicise the problem and help dry out the old soaks.

Some members of the Siemens management were worried these posters might upset visitors and customers, but a wide range of reasons was marshalled to convince them the campaign was indispensable.

Alcoholics on the company's payroll are off work for 40 to 60 per cent of the year, averaging 118 days at work and earning only about 75 per cent of their wages.

Alcohol is equally widespread at all levels in a company. Often an alcoholic boss prompts members of his staff to follow suit.

At works parties less spirits must be served and more "soft" *cocktails low in* alcohol, cocktails with amusing names that are fun to drink.

In Siemens canteens *beer dispensers* are gradually being replaced by machines dispensing soft drinks. Tea was found *not* to sell, whereas buttermilk proved surprisingly popular.

But the most important feature of the Siemens programme to combat alcoholism at work is the training of volunteers who are then qualified to help alcoholic workmates.

They are all past drinkers who now don't. Seventy men and women have so far been recruited; their number is to be increased to 150.

They are trained for their work in courses costing DM4,000 that are for the most part held at special clinics.

This idea could be put to good use in other sectors. But as Herr Ziegler pointed out, doctors and health workers are particularly prone to suffer from alcohol problems.

Frau von Rotenhan, who is a leading church layperson, said people working for the churches and charitable organisations ran a substantial alcohol risk too.

This was because they, like public service workers, enjoyed greater job security than people working in private enterprise and tended to feel *more* irresponsible and indifferent.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 15 April 1986)

Continued from page 7

of the problem by demanding stricter and more frequent checks and penalties.

But North Rhine-Westphalia alone has a shortage of at least 400 factory inspectors.

Action is urgently needed because technical trends threaten to make conditions even worse, with large firms increasingly computerising operations.

As a result they are able to run inventories down to virtually zero. Supplies are ordered as required and kept more or less constantly on the move, with hauliers maintaining "rolling stocks."

Walter is gloomily convinced deadlines will be much more pressing once this state of affairs generally applies.

Hans-Jürgen Pöschke

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 21 April 1986)



■ RESEARCH

Underground tests to track down the elusive neutrino

Thirty tons of gallium, a rare metal that shines much like mercury, may help to explain whether we really know why the Sun shines, says Professor Till Kirsten of the Max Planck Nuclear Physics Institute, Heidelberg.

He is in charge of a large-scale experiment to be carried out in a laboratory 1,200 metres below the Gran Sasso in Italy's Abruzzi mountains.

French, German, Israeli and Italian research scientists hope jointly to discover the secret of solar neutrinos.

Neutrinos are arguably the oddest of the many particles that make up the material microcosm. Their existence was forecast in 1930 by Wolfgang Pauli, later to become a Nobel physics laureate.

They must exist, he said, because their existence was the only conclusive explanation of a phenomenon noted during radioactive beta decay.

Their existence was corroborated by later theories but not conclusively proved until 1956 by US scientists Clyde L. Cowan and Frederick Reines.

They proved elusive because they travel at the speed of light, have no electric charge and probably no mass when at rest and, above all, virtually never interact with other matter.

Enormous numbers of them easily pass through entire planets and it takes the subtlest physical and chemical tricks to trigger responses that point to their existence.

The gallium is to serve this purpose. It has to be stored, and the laboratory experiments carried out, well below ground to rule out as far as possible cosmic radiation that would otherwise falsify the readings.

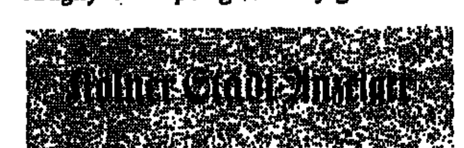
Neutrinos are linked with the Sun by a fascinating puzzle. If scientific theories on nuclear fusion within the Sun are right, then enormous numbers of neutrinos must be generated there.

Wherever they come from, roughly 66 billion neutrinos a second bombard every square centimetre of the Earth's surface and are said to penetrate the planet too.

Experiments have been carried out for 15 years to see whether they really do. One such experiment is in progress down a disused gold mine in South Dakota.

Only a third of the expected number of neutrinos was found to reach the Earth, so theories of solar nuclear fusion will need to be at least partly revised.

The thirty tons of gallium costing roughy DM1 per gram may give scien-



tists some idea how to set about their reappraisal.

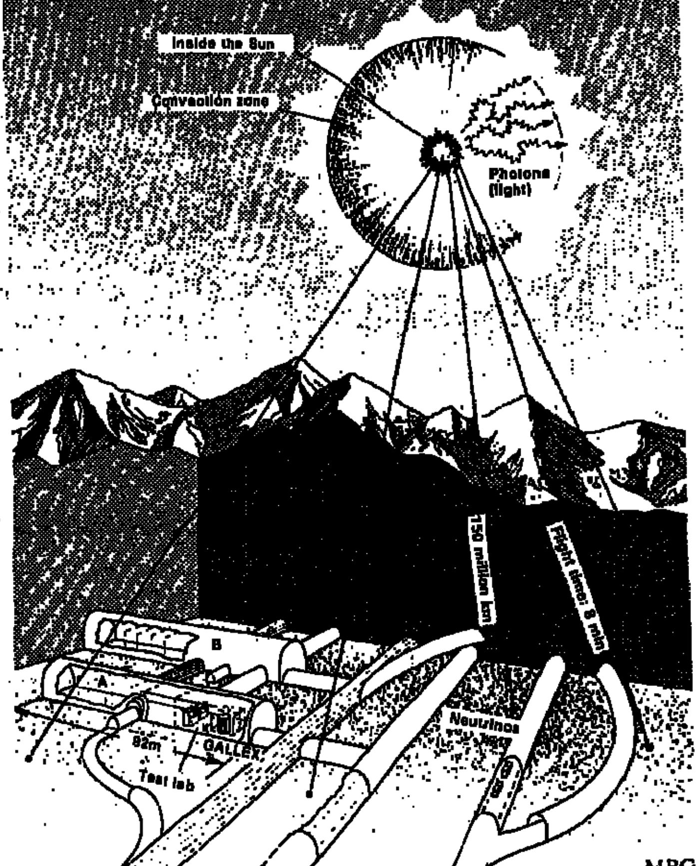
Deep down under the Abruzzi mountains trillions of neutrinos a day are expected to trigger a single response in the course of which a solitary radioactive atom of Germanium 71 takes shape.

This solitary atom, like a needle in a haystack, will need not only to be tracked down by means of the most sensitive equipment but also conclusively identified.

Otherwise definite inferences cannot be drawn as to the number and nature of the elusive neutrino.

So it is hardly surprising to learn that the first main findings of the experiment, which is scheduled to start at the end of 1989, are not expected until about 1994. The Gran Sasso experiment, which may hold the key to a better understanding of our sun and others, will be partly financed by a DM12.5m grant from the Federal Research and Technology Ministry in Bonn. The findings may also prove useful in helping man to master the intricacies of controlled nuclear fusion.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 11 April 1986)



Halley's Comet stars in Göttingen

Halley's Comet held pride of place at the annual spring conference of the Astronomics Society, the Extra-Terrestrial Physics Working Group and the Paneth Cosmo-Chemistry Colloquium in Göttingen.

It was attended by 250 scientists and lectures, reports and workshops concentrated on cosmic plasma physics and the physics and chemistry of small celestial bodies in the Solar system.

Keen interest was shown in the Giotto space probe and its pictures of Halley taken by a special camera designed and built at the Max Planck Aeronomy Institute in nearby Lindau in the Harz.

The public lecture on this topic was well attended. Speakers were Professor Hugo Fechtig of the Heidelberg Max Planck Institute and Uwe Keller, head of the Lindau institute.

The camera broke down about 14 seconds before the closest point of contact between space probe and comet nucleus, but Professor Fechtig said all experiments had been successful.

Compounds presumed to exist in the coma, the visible shroud of gas and dust surrounding the comet, have been proved to exist. A mass spectrum of the entire coma, tens of thousands of kilometres wide, is also to be evaluated.

The nucleus, previously unseen, resembles a trussed-up ellipsoid with a rough surface. As Herr Keller put it, it is shaped like a peanut. The nut is larger than had been assumed, at least 14km long and between 7 and 10km wide.

US astrophysicist Fred Whipple's "*dirty snowball*" hypothesis has been confirmed by photos taken at a shutter speed of as little as 50 millionths of a second and relayed to Earth by Giotto.

The "dirty snowball" is a mixture of ice and dust, but it is surrounded by a crust of extremely dark material several hundred metres thick.

In this layer the temperature is about 300° C, whereas the snowball is assumed to be about -253° C.

Activity occurs at only a few points where the crust is broken. These jet centres emit fountains of dust on the side of the comet facing the Sun; material is not evaporated over the entire surface.

That explains why the comet loses so little of its mass — about 30 tons per second — and why it is likely to survive several thousand more orbits of the Sun.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 April 1986)

Fascinating array of meteorites on exhibit in Munich

Long-tailed shooting stars are far less frequent visitors from outer space than much smaller heavenly bodies — meteorites.

Lengthy observation using special cameras has revealed that about 5,800 meteorites a year land on Earth, *including 14 in Germany*.

Unlike the comet's tail, which consists of ice and dust, a meteorite consists of metal alloys and/or rock. It must weigh at least 100 grams on landing to qualify in this context.

Statistically speaking, a building is hit by a meteorite every three weeks, while meteorites score direct hits on people once every nine years.

These facts are outlined at a Munich mineralogical exhibition entitled Ambassadors from Outer Space.

It features some magnificent meteorite specimens from leading collections to illustrate to the general public the history of meteorites and the kinds that occur.

The star of the show is a meteorite from the collection of King Ludwig II, the mysterious "mad king" of Bavaria who built Neuschwanstein and Herrenchiemsee castles and died in strange circumstances 100 years ago.

King Ludwig's meteorite weighs 7.5kg and is recorded as having "fallen from the sky near Maurkirchen."

He inherited it from his grandfather, Ludwig I, and donated it to the state mineralogical collection, organisers of the Munich exhibition.

A slab of the Mundrabilla meteorite that landed less than half a million years ago in Western Australia is also on exhibit. It weighs 285kg.

In 1966 a 6.2-ton slab of the meteorite was found. Its original weight is estimated to have been 23 tons.

Another rarity is a stone and iron meteorite from Krasnoyarsk, Siberia, found in 1749.

This meteorite was investigated by German physicist Ernst F. Chladni, who wrote the first scientific treatise on meteors, published in Vienna in 1813.

Two hundred years ago scientists ruled out the possibility of stones falling from Outer Space even though Old Testament prophecies forecast them. They sought to account for meteorites as sudden concentrations of matter normally dissolved and evenly spread in the atmosphere.

Goethe outlined the conventional viewpoint in four lines of verse, saying *that pure though the air was, it contained* steel and stone that could at times rain down on Earth.

In other civilisations meteorites and comets have widely been rated as signs of the gods and worshipped accordingly.

Modern scientific probes have shown most meteorites to be as old as the Solar system, about 4.55 billion years, and never to have left it.

Most meteorites are to be found in the asteroid belt between Mars and Jupiter, whereas comets come from the outskirts of the Solar system.

But more distant sources are not ruled out.

About 80 large craters have so far been identified as the result of meteorite impact. Probably the largest iron meteorite ever to land on our planet formed the Barringer Crater, 1,200 metres in diameter, in Arizona.

The best-investigated meteorite crater in the world is arguably near Nördlingen, Bavaria. It is 25km in diameter and 100 metres deep and has been used for training purposes by US astronauts.

Nördlingen is naturally featured at the Munich exhibition. So are tectites and the meteorite theory put forward to account for the end of the dinosaurs.

People alarmed at the prospect of being hit by a meteorite may feel reassured to learn that they wouldn't notice one weighing less than five grams, while it takes meteorites of at least 200 grams to crash through or damage the roof of a house.

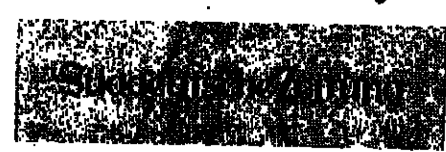
Yet for safety's sake you may like to bear in mind that meteorites seldom fall at 6 a.m. and in early autumn, whereas they are frequent in early spring when cosmic rubble rains down on Planet Earth.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Mannheimer Morgen, 15 April 1986)

■ MEDIA

Aachen newspaper museum is a sturdy centenarian



Aachen's International Newspaper Museum recently celebrated its centenary. The only one of its kind in the world, the municipal museum likes to see itself as a registry office of the world's Press.

It is held in high repute by experts but is almost unknown to the general public.

The museum is hidden away behind the walls of the city's oldest commercial building, a stone's throw from the cathedral and town hall.

The latest issues of newspapers are put on display but only reappear 10 years later.

A century ago, Aachen-born Oscar von Forckenbeck realised that papers and photographs which were capturing in print or on film the spirit of their times would in time be historical documents.

Over a thirty-year period he privately built up a collection of newspapers from all over the world.

He developed a particular interest in the numerous and often short-lived journals of the revolutionary year of 1848.

In the winter of 1885/86 he decided to put into practice his long cherished idea of founding a museum. He wanted to make his collection permanently accessible to the public.

He considered Berlin, Leipzig, Nuremberg and Aachen as possible locations for the museum.

Berlin had the attraction of being the capital city. Leipzig was the centre of the publishing industry. Nuremberg had the Germanic Museum.

His home town of Aachen was geographically well situated, tucked away between three countries.

Nuremberg was keen on having the museum but its newly built Germanic Museum did not have enough room to house the material.

The people of Aachen were the most determined to have the museum. As a result of this, in the spring of 1886, in von Forkenbeck's birth place the public caught its first glimpse of his collection.

Since then the volume of material has grown to some 140,000 copies. The archives are available to the public during opening hours in the reading room.

The museum's jubilee exhibition consists of a cross-section of its treasures.

One can see examples of one-page newspapers from the 16th century, which were the first newspapers ever in Europe.

It ends with an issue of the *International Herald Tribune* of 24 January 1986 with its photo of the Challenger explosion.

The exhibition is mainly concerned with representing a history of the press. Among its exhibits are revolutionary newspapers such as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, published by Karl Marx.

There is also a first issue of the satirical journal *Kladderadtsch*, which first appeared on 7 May 1848.

The museum's collection of Jewish newspapers is unique in Europe. A few years ago the National Library in Jerusalem recorded it on microfilm.

Apart from unusual papers from the Far East, South Africa and early newspapers from America, Eastern and Central German newspapers deserve attention. Reading them is a chilling confrontation with German history.

People interested in contemporary history will not be disappointed. The visitor can experience the eerie feeling of reading how the news was reported during the Second World War.

He can read the *Pariser Zeitung* of 24 July 1944, which reported the attempted assassination of Hitler while stressing that the Allies had failed to advance from their bridgehead in Normandy.

The *Schlesische Tageszeitung* of 27 April 1945 was a "front-line newspaper" printed in beleaguered Breslau.

It informed the confined inhabitants of the "fortress city" of the struggle in Berlin and briefly noted that Goering had been exempted from his duties because of health problems.

The museum has admittedly one shortcoming. It rarely collects complete annual volumes or a newspaper's complete series.

People who want to systematically work on historical events have to rely on the archives of large state and university museums.

The function of the museum is to provide a setting for a history of newspaper publishing. This explains the collections emphasis on first and last or jubilee issues.

That is also why it sees itself as a registry office for the world's press.

First issues document the birth of a newspaper and nearly always have a platform. A jubilee issue outlines new developments. The final issue as a rule explains the reasons for closing down.

The museum can boast of many examples of such issues. One can read the influential East Prussian *Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung* which closed down on 31 December 1933.

Four months later the famous *Vossische Zeitung*, founded in 1704, shut down in Berlin as a victim of Hitler's attempt to achieve a uniform press through censorship.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* held its ground against the Nazi regime until 31 August 1943.

The front page of the last issue had a Japanese reporter corresponding on the "summer of war in Tokyo" as if it were an article in a feature supplement.

This was printed in such a way as to overshadow the reports on the armed forces.

This was undoubtedly a delaying tactic of a kind. It was also a form of editorial juggling, which in view of the power structure in Germany, had to resort to such forms of risk-taking.

It is well known that newspapers can occasionally themselves make history. But it has seldom been acknowledged.

In Aachen they have an outstanding example available. They have the 13 January 1898 issue of *L'Aurore*.

In this issue Emile Zola, in an open letter to the French Président headlined *J'accuse*, criticised the trial and sentencing of Dreyfus.

With this letter he exposed the turn of the century's most scandalous miscarriage of justice.

Newspapers, says museum director Herbert Lepper, "not only reflect in a unique way the intellectual, political, life-style of their times, but must also define their position and remain loyal to it."

Ivo Frenzel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 April 1986)

French publisher prints Pravda in translation

Pravda, the Soviet Communist Party newspaper, has been published in German.

A German-language issue is selling for DM4. In Moscow the paper costs three kopeks, about 12 pfennigs.

The German issue is published in France by a Parisian firm, Société [illegible] Medias, which already sells French [illegible] Italian issues.

The success of these editions encouraged the firm to put 333,000 copies [illegible] the West German, Austrian and Swiss markets.

The publisher stresses that the newspaper has been translated very literally without any attempt at an interpretation.

Because Pravda contradicts to a large extent elementary rules of Western journalism, it remains to be seen whether the translated version will have lasting success *after* the initial curiosity value of the exotic product has worn off.

The paper is dominated by articles [illegible] reports derived from everyday socialism, with boring headings like "[illegible] Politburo of the Communist Party."

The language is often formal and pathetic. What sounds tolerable in Russian is bombastic and difficult to read in German.

Admittedly if one involves oneself more intensively with the paper, one can find much more than bleak propaganda.

The way the paper arranges particular themes is informative as to what the Communist Party's priorities are.

Recently the paper has endeavoured to fall in line with Mr Gorbachov's modernisation campaign.

It has expressed itself in increasingly more open language, which shows [illegible] also even in the letters that are published.

Arnd Bäucker

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 April 1986)

Continued from page 6

flops bring with them new risks, [illegible] known until now. The banks must first learn how to handle this situation."

He continued: "In all probability this process will not be established without a few small and large mishaps."

Guth wonders at times whether the banks are not, against better judgement, walking [illegible] situation similar to the Third World loans [illegible] tion.

[illegible] boards regard [illegible] with scepticism. There is no legal provision for them or for balance-sheet reserves to be held to cover them.

The supervisory boards would prefer this kind of business to be 50-per-cent back by banks' own assets.

Deutsche Bank said it was raising extra capital for this purpose.

So the usual thing happens. The small account-holder has to pay the bill. It does not matter if he changes banks. Even small banks that haven't lent money to Mexico are just as expensive. The cartel functions well.

Maria Müller

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 April 1986)

Older people prefer newspapers

Daily newspapers are the most important medium for elderly people. People aged 55-74 next favour radio and TV.

Yet they still spend an average three hours a day watching TV.

The figures show the viewing habits of senior citizens to outstrip those of the average adult by 40 minutes and those of 14- to 29-year-olds by as much as 85 minutes.

According to the report, pensioners value the newspaper most of all and working women the least.

Older housewives and low wage earners join them in also having little interest in the press.

Age is the decisive factor when it comes to rating television. The subjective importance of the medium increases with age for the elderly of both sexes. Regional and advice programmes are also popular.

Working women think the least of the box. Elderly women and those living alone prefer it most.

One fifth of interviewed citizens think radio is very important, although interest declines in the radio with age.

Television is preferred by the older generation as a source of information. The pictorial information of television is felt to be more reliable than that of newspapers, magazines and radio.

Television, the most convenient of media, is switched on for relaxation and entertainment.

Time devoted to viewing changes once you're 55. During the transition from employment to retirement the "young old people" reach more often for the TV switch. This is particularly true of men.

Three quarters of the elderly cannot in any way be regarded as chance viewers. They inform themselves early on in detail about the programmes.

Only a minority decides spontaneously in front of the screen for one programme or another.

News and nature programmes are big hits among the elderly. About 90 per cent of them either liked them or liked them a lot.

In third place came light entertainment, family series, dialect folk plays, entertainment shows and quiz shows.

Compared with that, information broadcasts, programmes about politics, economics, society, sport and talk shows received an average rating.

A small group of elderly people complained to ARD and ZDF about the unrealistic way they are often portrayed on television.

They said old people were to a great extent portrayed as senile, old and infirm.

The programme makers were also reproached for catering too much to the taste of the younger viewers and not enough to that of the old.

dpa

(Nordwest-Zeitung, Oldenburg, 1 April 1986)

■ SHOW BUSINESS

Cats gets off to a slow purr



Andrew Lloyd Webber's *Cats*, the successful musical based on T.S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, a smash hit in London, New York, Los Angeles, Toronto, Sydney, Osaka, Vienna, Budapest and Oslo, has opened in Hamburg.

Just whether the production is all set for a long run is open to doubt.

Raymond Massey has turned the interior of Hamburg's Operettenhaus into a gigantic rubbish dump. The stage is only the central point of the musical's chaos. The rubbish from an affluent society piles up as far as the upper circle.

Members of the audience sitting in the front rows of the stalls have their *feet among* tin cans, cake wrappings, bottles and the like.

The cost of the rubbish pile has been partly covered by advertising revenue from firms whose product names can be clearly read among the trash.

There is a steering wheel with the Mercedes star, soft drinks with the manufacturer's name clearly visible and empty tins of branded cat food.

Kitchen furnishers Bauknecht have one of their ovens in the set. There was much soul-searching as to whether it is a good idea to have their product displayed among rubbish. They have paid DM50,000 to be seen nightly by the audience.

The atmosphere is dead right and the lighting is computer-controlled, just like the successful London production.

When the musical begins, thousands of cats' eyes glow on the darkened stage, and during the cats' ball scene the whole of the auditorium is converted into a ballroom.

The costumes follow closely the designs for the London production. Andrew Lloyd Webber's recently established company Really Useful Group, which controls copyright, sells only a production package. In this way savings are made mainly on singers and dancers.

How otherwise can it be explained, then, that there are no big names in the Hamburg production?

The musical's producers looked for performers from 800 who turned up for auditions. In a few weeks choreographer Jo-Anne Robinson, from the original production, knocked them into shape Broadway-style.

That is not a [illegible] and for the young people in the show it is a great chance, which guarantees that all those taking part concentrate on their performances. The tough American-style contracts do the rest.

The Hamburg production has indeed discovered a few talented people, who have a chance to show what they can do.

Among the discoveries is Fred Butter who plays the part of beau Rum Tum Tugger, Stephan Drakulich with a sound baritone voice as Bustopher Jones and Asparagus, and Steven Kadel and Janette Froud, playing Mungojerry and Rumpleteazer with considerable feeling for the comic.

Andrea Bögel plays the fallen glamour puss Grizzabella with a slight touch of the tragic. She is the only one in the whole cast who knows how to use her voice with versatility. Otherwise the characters in the cat show have very weak voices that do not come over very well in the stereo music sound in the Operettenhaus. This robs the production of much, for this musical has few main parts in it and is dependent on the performances of the company as a whole. Lloyd Webber's music for *Cats* is not the biggest box office pull there ever was, although he is reputed to earn about 10 million pounds a year from such musicals as *Evita* and *Jesus Christ Superstar*.



Andrea Bögel as glamour puss Grizzabella in the Hamburg production of *Cats* (Photo: Peter Peitsch)

With the exception of the international hit *Memory* there is scarcely a memorable tune in *Cats*.

Most of the numbers are bland and pleasant, trivial, mainstream pop, conceived to appeal to the taste of a public numbered in millions.

It is possible that the secret of Webber's success can be found in this music.

The dancing is quite another matter. Although the repertoire of cat movements, arching the back, digging in the claws and curling about in flattery, is very limited the company is more than able to bring a touch of Broadway to the Hamburg performance, particularly in the set-piece dance numbers.

Acting and dancing areas are used artistically and the action is snappy.

Producer David Taylor ingeniously strives to get his purring cats close to the audience, although in a rather provincial manner. The cat cast makes its entrance through the auditorium, then a performer makes an entrance here and there from the stage wings, after having appeared from the auditorium.

Improvisations of this sort, however, are no substitute for real contact with the audience.

The Hamburg production finds audience contact hard going. Changes may be made, and the production company has certainly promised investors, including the city of Hamburg, to do so.

Until such time as they are, a run-of-the-mill hamburger need not taste good simply because it tastes the same all over the world.

And, by the same token, the standard production of *Cats* and its international success so far are not necessarily any guarantee of a really good night's musical entertainment.

Hans-Juergen Fink

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 19 April 1986)

College course for would-be musical stars

The Berlin Arts College is making a trial run of a training course for musicals, the first of its kind in West Germany. For 20 of the 28 periods, students are instructed in dancing and body language.

The professor of singing Günther Wilhelms said that there was talent among the students. It was a matter of training if the cast of German musicals did not come up to standards expected as a matter of course in other kinds of theatre.

Everyone knows that people who take part in a musical must be able to sing, dance and speak, but until now no-one has done anything about training young performers.

At the Hamburg Conservatory there is a crash course for musicals in a trial popular music course.

The municipal theatre in Hagen also offers a training course, but experts maintain that this is not enough.

The Berlin venture will last four semesters. Only 14 of the 100 who applied were admitted to the course.

There are two girl music students among them, vaudeville artists and some who had only sung and danced as a hobby.

There is a lack of cash but the Günter Neumann Foundation will provide funds to pay visiting professors to train the musical beginners.

Some of the staff come from the *Theater des Westens* that is close by. Artistic director Helmut Baumann of this theatre has offered to take over choreographic training.

The teachers themselves are breaking new ground and have shown a willingness to learn.

One said: "We are all prepared to change our ideas and make the necessary adjustments."

Wolfgang Thiele

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 18 April 1986)

Golden jubilee of showbiz star Caterina Valente



Caterina Valente (Photo: dpa)

Caterina Valente, now 55, was a stroke of good luck for the German pop music industry immediately after the war.

She was born in Paris, daughter of Italian review artists.

She was brought to the Rhine by band leader Kurt Edelhagen in 1953 and has been regarded as a local prodigy ever since. She could sing in any number of languages, knew how to tap dance, strum away on a guitar and pull wonderful faces.

She had enormous success abroad, travelling on a German passport, confirming her title to be "Caterina the Great."

She was the Economic Miracle's darling, winning applause in the US on the famous Perry Como Show, and getting standing ovations at the Olympia in Paris and from night club audiences in Rio.

In Germany she made hits that sold millions one after another. Abroad she did much to improve the German national standing.

But her international fame slipped away so that only the legend remained. The cinema hit *Bonjour Kathrin* came to the end of its run.

The rot set in. Sometimes her hair was done impossibly, sometimes her costume just was not right. Her repertoire slipped into the mediocre.

Valente wasted her enormous talent. She did not know how to use her success on American TV as a foundation stone for a solid, successful career, in the way Nancy Wilson, Peggy Lee, Sarah Vaughn and others succeeded in doing.

She was simply badly advised, but nevertheless her halo has survived all the bankruptcies, the lulls and flops; Valente will remain a name to be conjured with when others have long been forgotten.

"Spiel noch einmal für mich, Habanero" was one of the greatest songs from a period of top German pops, and "Secret love," made with Kurt Edelhagen, and "Classics with a chaser" with Werner Müller, are still yardsticks with which to measure international pop singing.

Her 16-city tour with the legendary Count Basie Orchestra will echo her great moments in swing.

For the 50th anniversary of her stage debut she will work like an "old" circus horse, as ever.

Just after a serious illness she began rehearsing for the tour just to prove that she was not past it.

This time round she will delight her audiences in two ways — and why shouldn't she? — as an all-round artist and as a lovable, uncomplicated person.

Barry Graves

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 April 1986)

■ ENVIRONMENT

French sociologist says Germans are really worried about *Waldsterben*

When the Germans began talking in terms of forests on their deathbed the French response was a combination of amusement and dismay.

Were these the outpourings of the gloomy and sensitive Germanic soul or was it a mass psychosis engineered by German industry to promote environmental regulations in the European Community?

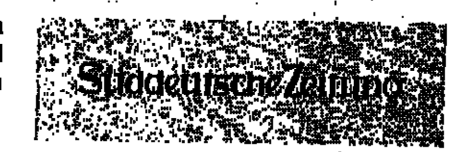
German industry would, of course, stand to gain from these regulations because it would be able to exert even greater pressure on its Common Market competitors.

Sociologist Philippe Roqueplo of the Centre d'Etudes des Mouvements Sociaux in Paris was commissioned by the French government to look into the subject last year.

He toured the Federal Republic of Germany interviewing politiciyans, civil servants, forestry officials and journalists to find out the truth about the tree death epidemic for which the French have borrowed the German term, calling it *le Waldsterben.*

"Acid Rain, Seen As An Accident In Slow Motion" is the title of his recently published findings.

They go further than the report he was commissioned to compile in showing how an industrial society takes note of ecological hazards the characteristic of which is how slow they are to come to



roost and how, if at all, it sets about dealing with them.

He chose the slow-motion approach in order to distinguish between and analyse *different sequences of the "film,"* such as blindness, shock, agitation, debate, the quest for a scapegoat (the motor-car), the derivate danger and the changing awareness of it.

He was amazed to learn that acid rain has been known to fall in industrial areas for over a century.

Atmospheric toxins that are lethal for vegetation have for that matter been known for 30 years to travel substantial distances and acidify soil and water in clean air zones.

But politicians and forestry officials chose to ignore the gathering danger. Until 1981 West German forests were felt to be in fine condition.

Roqueplo quotes a French environmental expert as saying there is no-one blinder than someone who doesn't want to see (but this was a point the expert didn't see until 1984).

What made the French mistrustful was the sudden volte-face from "all fine" to "man the lifeboats" in German forest policy and debate between 1982 and 1983.

It was accompanied by the demand for all Europe to accept industrial restraint for the sake of the German forest.

Roqueplo attributes the trend to an explosion in forest publications by Professor Schütt in Munich and Professor Ulrich in Göttingen, neither scientists who can be suspected of belonging to the Greens.

The media cottoned on to the issue and dealt with it extensively, plagued by a guilty conscience due to having suppressed a known problem.

Politics then followed with admissions that the condition of the forest was far from good and that half the country's trees had been damaged one year and two out of three the next.

The transition, as M. Roqueplo saw it, was from nil in 1980 to a state of shock in 1984.

Why, he wonders, does a natural process that slowly takes shape over the decades go unnoticed until a stage at which there is a sudden "explosion" of awareness?

One contradiction he noted in his interviews was between Alsace and Lorraine where the state of the forests on the western slopes of the Vosges is identical.

Yet the Alsatians feel their forests are in a bad way, whereas people in Lorraine don't, the reason being that Alsatians watch German TV.

Roqueplo feels this bears out a general law of psychology and epistemology: *that you have to know to see.*

Germans have learnt to see by being bombarded by TV and in newspapers and magazines with pictures of dying trees that were explained to them.

But a Bavarian civil servant restored his old belief that the Germans had a special relationship with the forest.

"People can't tell whether one tree or the other is sick," he had said, "and that is what makes it all so mysterious.

"Don't forget the importance the importance of the forest and of mystery for the German soul. What you can't see makes you afraid."

M. Roqueplo will hear nothing of the deep-seated French belief that political moves to protect forests in the Federal Republic were, like the recommendation to other European countries to follow suit, a result of pressure brought to bear by German industry.

In reality environmental protection measures were enacted in the face of industrial opposition. It was wrong to feel the French industry might have to foot the bill for the clash between German industry and the Greens, or environmentalists.

That is certainly not the case where power stations and other sources of static emission such as sulphur dioxide are concerned.

Germans are so worried about the forest that most are prepared to pay two to three pfennigs more per kilowatt of electricity.

The picture is less clear where people are called on to make sacrifices to nitrogen oxide emission from car exhausts.

Yet the car has been singled out as a scapegoat and blamed for a "natural catastrophe" because there *is probably no* other way to stem the tide.

In Germany, Roqueplo found, there are many more *motorists* (and cyclists and pedestrians) than in France.

Destruction of the town and country by the motor-car is more readily apparent. A powerless dislike of the motor-car has been extended to include the accusation that it is to blame for tree deaths.

The French have so far been spared this shock of realisation. The only danger they so far see is that curbs on industrial activity.

M. Roqueplo's basic message is that you have to see something is happening before the sense of shock can trigger sensible and objective counter-measures.

It isn't one that inspires much hope of sensible and objective counter-measures being undertaken in time.

Christian Schütze

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 12 April 1986)

Paris is still playing for time on Rhine pollution

Drilling near a village in Alsace has unearthed geological findings that make an alternative to pumping millions of tons of waste salt into the Rhine seem much less feasible.

The findings come as a serious blow to years of international endeavour to reduce pollution of the Rhine, particularly pollution by France.

Potash mines near Mulhouse account for nearly 40 per cent of the salt pumped into the river as it runs down to the North Sea.

Drilling near the village [illegible] reveals that rock strata 1,700 metres underground are not as readily able as assumed to absorb waste salt.

The waste was to have been pumped underground in liquid form but the French were worried it might not be absorbed and seep into the ground water instead.

Alsatian potash mines produce between four and seven million tonnes of waste sodium a year that is currently pumped into the Rhine, where it makes up the lion's share of salt pollution.

The new French government has yet to comment officially on the findings, but a fresh round in the international dispute over salination of the Rhine seems inevitable.

Relations between France and its neighbours have been soured for years by the waste output of Alsatian potash mines, with environmental [illegible] being particularly serious along the upper reaches of the Rhine.

Dutch Socialist MEPs have criticised on French TV procrastination over the grave environmental problem.

The Dutch are the most seriously affected [illegible] the Rhine. [illegible] longer use its water to irrigate their vegetable gardens and have to pump in expensive fresh water.

Rhine water is gradually exchanged with ground water, with the result that the quality of drinking water for millions of people is steadily deteriorating, as Dutch and German water authorities have found to their cost.

Ten years ago countries bordering on the Rhine signed a treaty by which France undertook to gradually reduce salt pollution from its potash mines.

The others promptly ratified the treaty and paid France 100 million francs toward the cost of pollution control.

The French National Assembly took

Continued on page 14

■ HEALTH

Psychiatric unit for prisoners looks more like a village

The new psychiatric unit at the Rhenish State Hospital in Düren, near Aachen, looks more like a village street than a closed ward for 80 criminals needing psychiatric treatment.

Two-storey houses line the road. There is a square with a cafeteria, shops and a hairdresser's. There are sportsgrounds and a village pond.

Yet the four-hectare (10-acre) village is effectively sealed off from the outside world and no-one can leave it without permission.

It is surrounded by an 18ft wall complete with electronic surveillance systems that is landscaped into a deceptive system of ditches and embankments with an unrestricted view of the distant Eifel hills.

These safeguards are essential because "residents" are committed to Düren by criminal courts, usually for committing serious crimes when the balance of their minds was disturbed.

The new unit is the first of its kind in the country. It was designed in keeping with the latest psychological research findings and intended to provide facilities for environmental therapy, says hospital chief Helmut Koester.

He hopes patients' stays can be reduced from the present three to five years, although there will continue to be cases where there can be no hope of release.

As a rule patients will, however, be prepared from the start for their release. That is why the DM40m "village" separates areas where patients live, work and engage in leisure pursuits.

As in life outside, they will visit their doctors or therapists and not vice-versa.

"They are intended to relearn or not to forget everyday experience," Koester



says. The aim is to make them feel as little "incarcerated" as possible.

His objective is to improve their condition, not primarily to ensure they remain in custody. Rehabilitation is the legal objective of sending prisoners to psychiatric wards; their legal status is that of the mentally ill.

They used to be housed in a 100-year-old redbrick block surrounded by a brick wall and lived in cells with up to five others.

Conditions were far from comfortable — even by prison standards. Doors and windws were barred. Conditions were inhuman and totally unsatisfactory from a therapeutic viewpoint, Herr Koester says.

He has campaigned for the new unit since 1971. Prisoners will have single rooms and much greater freedom to move around.

But they have mixed feelings about the move. They feel worried and insecure. They don't yet know what conditions will really be like in their new quarters.

A doctor says the new quarters have been designed with too little consideration for the conditions to which patients have been accustomed.

Rooms are 12 square metres in size yet not one is rectangular with four-square walls. Herr Koester says the architects chose this offbeat design so that patients would not get used to and bored with their quarters.

A practical consequence is that with walls at odd angles no-one can find the usual corners in which to store personal effects.

The move will also destroy many established relationships, the doctor adds, and contribute toward a sense of insecurity.

In wards of over 20 people in the old block they made ends meet no matter how unsatisfactory conditions may have been. Now everything is new.

For the time being it will no longer be possible to seek refuge in the sub-culture of their wards. Many patients fear they will be subjected to greater therapeutic inroads as a result.

They will live in groups of eight in the new cottages. Contacts will take shape differently from in the old block.

Yet the new unit is a step in the right direction for German psychiatry, which has a reputation for having ground to make good.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 19 April 1986)

Bonn scientific summit looks at depression

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE

Depression was high on the list of topics dealt with by life scientists at a five-day conference of experts held in Bonn.

They were scientists from all seven countries represented at the Western economic summit.

At least 300 million people are said by the World Health Organisation to suffer from depression. No-one knows exactly how it is caused or how best to treat it.

Professor Benno Hess of Dortmund, vice-president of the Max Planck Society, said the "scientific summit" dealt with a variety of topics under the general heading "neuro-sciences and ethics."

Its aim was to make recommendations on urgent research requirements and to outline ethical bounds beyond which brain research out not to go.

dpa

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 17 April 1986)

'Close mental clinics by end of century' — psychiatrists

Psychiatrists meeting in Osnabrück have called for an end to barriers that isolate the mentally handicapped. They want to see psychiatric wards and clinics closed by the end of the century.

Four hundred experts attended the conference, which was held by the German Society for Social Psychiatry's committee for the mentally handicapped.

They felt patients were forgotten and isolated. They used to feel that the mentally handicapped ought not to be committed to psychiatric wards. They now feel hospitalisation in general is a mistake.

Isolation is the main problem. Clinics are so large and patients are so isolated from the outside world that they are bound to lose touch with it.

There is no clear distinction between where they live and work and where



they pursue leisure activities. They are under constant supervision and greatly impeded in their opportunities of individual development.

It had taken massive public and expert criticism to make headway in work with the handicapped, the experts felt.

Concepts such as normalisation and integration were gaining ground and homes and workshops had been extensively modernised.

In other countries, especially Scandinavia, there was a trend toward smaller housing units more effectively integrated into community life. In Germany there was still a trend toward large-scale institutions.

The Osnabrück conference topic was "Ways out of Isolation — Living Conditions of the Mentally Handicapped between Institutional Reform and Communal Integration."

A key issue debated was how best to house the handicapped other than in institutions, with the emphasis on shared apartments, on housing with home helps and on outpatient care and assistance.

Eighteen conference working parties arrived at the conclusion that constant further opening of institutions was indispensable.

There was no question whether the handicapped and seriously handicapped could be integrated in society; they could.

It was up to politicians, health authorities and others in positions of responsibility to ensure that experiments were lent every encouragement.

There must be an end to pigeonholing the handicapped as serious and less serious cases and shunting them off into homes. There must be no more artificial worlds for the handicapped.

Yet opening closed institutions was felt to be particularly difficult at present.

Experiments in communal living had been successfully carried out with manpower supplied by the labour exchange but comprehensive financial backing was unlikely for the time being.

So experiments would remain experiments, much to the chagrin of people who had lived and worked as part of them.

The conference felt its aim must be emulate the Scandinavian countries, which plan to close all psychiatric wards and clinics by the end of the century.

dpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 April 1986)

■ OUR WORLD

Free taxi service is so popular it looks likely to be axed

Bremer Nachrichten

Bielefeld will soon have to decide whether to continue its experimental night taxi service for women. It may prove extremely short-lived.

The service, which is the only one of its kind in a German city, was launched on 7 April at the suggestion of the Greens, the ecological party, and with the endorsement of the SPD group in the city council.

Wilfried Kaasmann, head of a taxi co-operative, said the demand for tickets, which only cost DM2.50, was like a mad stampede.

The drivers of Bielefeld's 235 taxis, he added, "have delivered the first invoices to the city treasury."

The service is provided between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. A council majority of Greens and SPD delegates voted DM200,000 for it from the city budget.

The costs have already amounted to DM20,000. It seems certain that the money made available, will be used up by the end of the month by the increasing demand for taxis by Bielefeld women.

If the service were to continue to operate like this, then the city, which has a population of 305,000, would have to raise millions to finance it.

Taxi boss Kaasmann says: "In the first few nights we occasionally transported single women fives times from one pub to another.

"But we also had large numbers of old-age pensioners who would not normally use taxis. The rush has been enormous. Our drivers are doing bumper business."

Many barmaids and waitresses working in public houses and restaurants and in the few Bielefeld night clubs have taken advantage of the favourable opportunity to be driven home cheaply.

However, Kaasmann has joined the ranks of those who see a quick end to the "taxi spring." People are already asking how the city is to afford the service.

The North-Rhine Westphalian Taxpayers' Association is already up in arms about the costly security service, introduced by the nine Green councillors (five women). They introduced it to protect women exposed to danger at night.

Many were of the opinion this gave the impression that gratuitous violence was the order of the night in Bielefeld.

City spokesman Günter Ader says: "This is not the case at all, the crime figures for Bielefeld are no worse than those of other comparable cities."

CDU and SPD failure to agree on the municipal budget is being blamed for the introduction of the Bielefeld taxi service.

Green councillors held the balance of power. The Greens had two non-negotiable conditions. One was the taxi service for women, the other free travel on public transport for welfare and unemployment benefit claimants.

The city had already introduced a 50-per-cent reduced travel card for out of work people at an annual cost of DM500,000.

The frantic Bielefeld premiere was followed by a heated discussion of the idea in Cologne, where a nightly service from 8 p.m to 5 p.m. is to be introduced.

The idea is once again backed by women members of the Greens. They have long felt it was time women reconquered the night.

They see night-time taxis transforming the sentiments of the slogan into reality.

Taking note of the unrestricted Bielefeld example, women from all political advice groups are discussing regulations which will bring abuse of the service to a halt and enable an affordable compromise to be reached.

The SPD and the Greens have reserved DM500,000 of Cologne's municipal budget to launch the service.

But they came to realise that the expected rush would use up the money within a few weeks as in Bielefeld unless restrictions based on distance, reasons for travelling and the financial situation of the woman are introduced.

The Bielefeld experiment is being opposed by the the local CDU. They point out that the service will cost the city millions.

The city has an unemployment rate of 11.4 per cent. The CDU believe the money could be spent more meaningfully on them.

They were joined at the weekend by intensified attacks against night taxis by the North-Rhine Westphalian Taxpayers' Association.

The price of a subsidised journey should be three marks. The size of the city means that 25-mile journeys within the city limits are possible.

The cost of such theoretically possible journeys has roused the ire of male members of the CDU.

However, they have run into the problem of female opposition in their own party which does not want to vote against the service.

Hans Willenweber

(Bremer Nachrichten, 14 April 1986)

Continued from page 12

until 1983 to ratify it and did so only under international pressure.

The French were particularly reluctant to pump liquid waste into the bowels of the earth, a method practised without problems for years in Hesse. They were worried ground water might be endangered.

After local protest the test drilling was finally undertaken in the grounds of the Rhône-Poulenc works in Chalampé.

Oolithic rock strata at a depth of 1,700 metres (5,575ft) were found to be far less water-absorbent than had been imagined.

Norbert Nothhelfer, a senior local government official on the opposite, German side of the Rhine, has already asked the French authorities what they now plan to do with the waste salt.

Regional politicians, parties and trade unions have long favoured setting up a salt works in Alsace to convert the sodium waste into commercial salt.

The French government is opposed to the idea, saying France and neighbouring European countries have a salt surplus.

Dumping the waste in abandoned workings is ruled out because the Alsatian mines are said to be unsuitable for this means of disposal.

Critics have repeatedly accused the mining companies and the French authorities of playing for time.

Time will undeniably eliminate the problem. By the end of the century the Alsatian potash deposits will be exhausted and the mines no longer worked.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April 1986)

Hitler was sane, says Cologne criminologist

Cologne psychiatrist and criminologist Professor Wolfgang de Boor has published a criminological study of Adolf Hitler.

Forty years after Hitler's death de Boor concludes that Hitler was indeed psychologically abnormal but not mentally ill or emotionally disturbed.

He was in the legal sense competent and capable of making a will, and responsible for the criminality of his deeds and actions.

Dr de Boor said he it had not been his wish to write just another book on Hitler to the join the many already written.

His aim was to work out a legal psychiatric analysis, a post-mortem report like those demanded by the courts when a deceased person's will is challenged on psychological grounds.

The common belief that Hitler was a lunatic and would never have been followed if that had been *recognised at* the beginning has been *discredited* by the findings of Dr de Boot's book.

He said Hitler was not in the legal sense pathologically disturbed, mentally feeble, or prone to disturbances of consciousness.

The Cologne psychiatrist admitted he never spoke to Hitler let alone examined him.

He evaluated Hitler's personality with the help of criminal psychology techniques and by using personality sketches provided by some two dozen people who belonged to Hitler's inner circle, among them Eva Braun, his physician Dr Morell and his personal servant.

According to de Boor, Hitler had extreme criminal tendencies. The first stage on the way to becoming a full-fledged criminal was the so-called Röhm putsch in June 1934.

On that occasion dozens, probably hundreds, of Germans were murdered with the express approval of Hitler without having been able to present their cases in court.

This opened the door to absolute power for Hitler. Up till then he had been able to keep his criminal tendencies under control. The death of Reich President von Hindenburg removed the last formal restriction on his behaviour.

If one judges Hitler by using his external behaviour as a measurement scale, says Dr de Boor, "then up to the [illegible] victory over France in summer 1940 he was a half-way normal person."

In 1942, he adds, "the so-called Wannsee conference [illegible] the final solution of the Jewish problem was discussed and decided upon, like an [illegible] greatest state terror [illegible] de Boor writes: "His completely ill-founded belief that the Jews had brought misfortune on mankind led to the murder of millions of Jews."

Dr de Boor looked into the authenticity of rumours which were going around during the Nazi-era and which have influenced to an extent our present-day image of Hitler.

He confirms that Hitler had [illegible] bouts of rage which nobody dared [illegible] or contradict. But he never went so far as to chew up carpets.

As regards his sex life, Hitler [illegible] seem to have led a relatively [illegible] one.

Peter W. [illegible]

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, [illegible])

German Mensa attracts few members

One and a half million West Germans are eligible for membership of Mensa, the association for exceptionally intelligent people with a world membership of 70,000.

But the German section, the annual three-day conference of which has just been held in Hamburg, has up till now only been able to attract 340 members.

Nobody imagines that Germany has fewer eggheads than other countries. The discrepency in membership figures is more likely to be explained by a greater aversion to intelligence tests and perhaps a general unwillingness to join clubs.

In the USA the association has a membership of 45,000 and in Great Britain one of 15,000.

Nevertheless six men and women turned up at the conference to attempt a comprehensive test consisting of 300 questions leading to membership of this exclusive club.

The organisation derives its name from the latin word for table and sees itself as a round-table composed of world citizens with equal rights.

Ostensibly a superior intelligence quotient is the only thing members have in common. Their intelligence is higher than that of 98 per cent of the population. Or, looked at another way, one person in fifty.

In any case, from a statistical point of view about one and a half million people are eligible for membership of the association, which describes itself as a meeting place for nice intelligent people.

Tests are evaluated by a psychologist. A pass means an IQ of at least 130.

The chief speaker at the Hamburg conference was the internationally-renowned, London-based, Berlin-born psychologist Hans Jürgen Eysenck.

When questioned about the interpretation of IQ tests, something which has often been called into question, he drew attention among other things to their application in American firms.

He pointed out that Americans have a greater propensity to base employee selection for industry and for many other areas on the results of such tests.

He said this had led to superiority of performance and efficiency of American firms over their German competitors. He emphasised that in team work high intelligence in particular was of prime importance.

Special creativity and originality, qualities often required by inventors and artists, have proved to be more of a hindrance to team work than an asset.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 14 April 1986)

■ BUNDESWEHR

Too many officers jump at offer of early retirement from armed forces

The first 175 of 1,200 officers retired early from the Bundeswehr at the end of March. A further 1,188 would like to go but can't. They are so riled that some have complained to Defence Minister Manfred Wörner.

Proposals for a scheme for early retirement of Bundeswehr officers were first made a couple of years ago. They were keenly debated in service messes.

The financial arangements were very interesting: a pension of 70 per cent of pay on retirement and a golden handshake of up to DM40,000.

The case of a lieutenant-colonel, born in 1935 and in the service since 1956, is typical of the reasons an officer wants to leave the services.

His application to be moved to a station near where his sick parents-in-law lived was turned down two years ago.

He hopes to go into early retirement so that he can return to his wife and children who are looking after the old people.

He also feels frustrated as a professional soldier. He said: "I have been a lieutenant-colonel for the past 13 years. I am one of those who is no longer required, although in all my service I have been regarded as particularly in line for promotion."

The thought of having to spend the next six years in the services under these conditions made him look at industry.

When his first application for early retirement was turned down, he had already been offered a job as a company representative.

Family was the main reason why a tank major applied for early retirement. His wife had a safe job as a teacher she would have had to give up if they were moved again. Or the family would have had to split up.

He decided to set himself up independently as a real estate agent. His first application for early retirement was returned marked invalid because the legal arrangements had not yet been worked out.

When legislation was approved in August 1985, the Defence Ministry's personnel office wrote to all troop officers born between 1932 and 1944 and encouraged them to retire.

"Never in the history of the Bundeswehr [illegible] official letter been studied so carefully as this one was.

The major in the Franconian tank brigade, *along with* 2,387 other officers, applied for early [illegible]

It did not take long for the reply to come back that only a few of those born in 1943 and 1944 could take early retirement. For this reason his application was rejected.

This is what happened to the majority of applications, for the go-ahead had been given for only an initial 1,080 to leave the services.

One staff officer conceded that personnel officers were having a difficult time. He commented: "The whole project has not been thought through thoroughly and only put into effect in a half-hearted manner.

"No consideration was given to what to do if there were a rush of applications and what would happen to those who did not get a look-in. The preparatory work was amateurish."

Last summer a Munich market research institute was asked to find out how many professional officers were prepared to take early retirement to make way for younger officers.

A total of 400 registered then, and the Ministry feared it would not be able to find enough officers ready to retire early.

When officers were first circularised last summer, many felt they ought not to apply in case it jeopardised promotion prospects.

The flood of applications that swept in on the Defence Ministry at Hardthöhe in Bonn at the turn of the year completely astonished Defence Minister Wörner and his aides.

Attempts were then quickly made to conceal the mistakes made in assessing the situation with comments such as "completely successful" or "better than expected."

An air force officer said: "The Bundeswehr top brass has missed a golden opportunity of finding out why morale is so low among serving officers."

The flood of applications for early retirement indicated that the mood in the officer corps was not the best.

One lieutenant-colonel said that something must be wrong if 30 per cent in many headquarters put in applications for early retirement, about a third of all Bundeswehr PR officers, three highly qualified computer experts from the Bonn Ministry itself, a whole administrative department as well as Wörner's special representative detailed to ensure the Bundeswehr maintains its peacetime strength.

The officers who want to leave are often the best men. Many general and naval staff officers want to turn their back on the armed forces.

The main cause of the poor morale is "rigid training and deployment planning," said one field officer.

A departing naval staff officer said: "There is a lack of leadership in the Bundeswehr. There is only personnel administration. And in 30 years it has failed to appoint the right men to the right jobs."

Many officers want to get out of their grey dress uniforms because of the constant moving around they are subjected to. Many also feel they are not adequately appreciated.

Another point is that for most who have applied to leave, the officer corps is no longer as homogeneous as it was when they first joined the services.

There are differences in training, career, professional attainments and personal interests of officers who have been to university and those who have not, and among NCOs who have been commissioned from the ranks.

A Ministry official said: "I was particularly infuriated that a lieutenant-colonel serving under me who was a year younger and who had had the same career as me was retired when I wasn't."

Where's the logic when the selection criteria are: "generally speaking an applicant's chances are better the higher his rank."

The retired lieutenant-colonel's superiors *are, of course, complaining and* now intend to fall in with a test case the Services Association is pressing.

Complaints are not only coming from this quarter but also the "grandpas," as Wörner saucily called old field commanders. They are going to court with the aid of the Association.

The court is being called upon to decide if the selection process is legally satisfactory.

Rolf Wenzel, chairman of the Services Association, said: "We are prepared to go as far as the Constitutional Court. Fundamentally it is a question of equal treatment for all."

There is little hope that the Association will win its case, however, for "the law is so rubber-like that the provision military preparedness must be maintained is an argument that can turn any rejected application upside down," said one lawyer.

The result will be a large number of dissatisfied officers. A general staff officer said: "An officer is automatically less interested in his job once he has decided to go."

A company commander said: "It is hardly possible to make a u-turn."



Those who remain in the Bundeswehr, reluctantly as it were, cannot be driven by the same motives as before.

The rejection notice sent to applicants from the head of the personnel department, Lieutenant-General Fanslau, reads:

"I am convinced that you will be just as committed in future to the service. Naturally the armed forces command will continue to fulfill all its commitments to you. Principally this involves the command's responsibilities for your welfare and for equal treatment to all."

A lieutenant-colonel, whose application had been rejected, said: "I don't feel anyone is particularly worried about me. None of my superiors have talked to me about my attempt to leave the service. The rejection notice was impersonal and included in the main just fine words. That I regard as a lack of concern."

Clemens Range

(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 March 1986)

Bishop defends marriage in uniform

Services Bishop Binder said in an address given at the Waldmann Barracks in Munich that it had been brought to his attention that some pastors and certain church circles regarded soldiers as "symbols of the powers that threaten in our world."

He had invited soldiers and their wives to hear his address after two Protestant clergymen refused to perform wedding ceremonies with the groom wearing uniform.

Bishop Binder, responsible for the spiritual welfare of servicemen, said he had to protect servicemen's rights to attend church, according to a press release made by the Protestant Church.

He said that it was his task to prevent polarisation between individual church groups and the armed forces that could be a side effect of the peace debate.

There was recently a conference in Bad Hersfeld of all Protestant padres to consider the work achieved over the past 30 years since the establishment of the Bundeswehr.

Pastor Wolf-Udo Smidt, secretary to the church committee and a senior pastor in the Bremen Protestant church, sent out an open letter to all pastors and vicars in Bremen asking if soldiers should be married in uniform or not.

The letter revealed that the refusal to marry soldiers in uniform by certain Bremen pastors had set off considerable argument and discussion.

Pastor Smidt asked the pastors "to grant that expressions of conscience were made in all honesty even if we do not agree with them."

The same is true of many of the opinions expressed by padres on the peace movement.

Smidt suggested to all pastors: "Soldiers should be accepted in our parishes just as much as civilians."

The question of power played a role in the statements made by the two Bremen clergymen who first raised the issue. One refused to marry a soldier in uniform, the other had reservations about doing so.

Pastor Smidt asked if soldiers in uniform, symbolising power, would necessarily be poor husbands.

He said: "The damage done by power thinking lies deeper, because usually it has something to do with the concept of sin and not particularly with uniforms."

Questions of power can ruin civil just as much as military marriages.

In his letter to pastors, six type-written pages in length, Smidt asked them to give thought to the fact that criticisms of the Bundeswehr's peacekeeping role inevitably gave the impression of "root-and-branch pacifism." The church was divided on whether the arms race would not endanger peace because the military balance could become instable. Pastors should not wreck the willingness to discuss matters by thoughtless statements or authoritarian polemics.

Individual soldiers often have the feeling that critics are making them personally responsible for developments.

Smidt also spoke out against ill-considered comments such as that soldiers were prepared to kill and trained to do so.

He said: "Accusations that a soldier was a potential murderer, driven by a lust to kill, could be taken personally."

Smidt wrote that he could not accept such criticisms of soldiers in uniform as made by the two pastors. In their statement it had not been the pastors' intention to lay guilt on servicemen, Smidt wrote.

He only has reservations about marriages in uniform if the uniform is seen as putting the military in a mythical high place, harking back to the war talk of 1914.

A groom who wants to get married in uniform to profess loyalty to the Bundeswehr must say whether he wants to glorify the armed forces or to keep the peace.

The matter should be clarified in discussion on a marriage and a decision found that has a spiritual basis.

Then, Pastor Smidt wrote: "I myself would have no reservations about marriage in uniform and would feel able to refer to it in the sermon."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 April 1986)